# TOWARD A HISTORICAL SOCIOLINGUISTIC POETICS OF MEDIEVAL GREEK

# BYZANTIOς

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# TOWARD A HISTORICAL SOCIOLINGUISTIC POETICS OF MEDIEVAL GREEK

Edited by

Andrea M. Cuomo & Erich Trapp

BREPOLS

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# VORWORT

Der vorliegende Band enthält die Vorträge und Diskussionsbeiträge der internationalen Tagung vom September 2014, zu der ein vorbereitender Workshop bereits im Juni 2013 stattfand. Das Thema dieser Tagung entsprang dem vom FWF finanzierten Projekt 23912-G19 "Imitation und Innovation im Wortschatz der spätbyzantinischen historiographischen Literatur".

Gleich zu Beginn unserer sprachlichen Untersuchungen der Werke der spätbyzantinischen Historiker stellte sich die Frage, welchen Weg wir beschreiten sollten: eher den herkömmlichen, positivistischen (Fragen des Stilniveaus, Metaphrasen, Übergang zur Volkssprache) oder einen neuen, der sich den Texten mit folgender Frage zu nähern sucht: Wie mag eine syntaktische Konstruktion, die Wahl eines besonderen Wortes usw. in den Ohren eines Byzantiners geklungen haben? Um diese Veränderung der Perspektive zu erreichen, galt es, die Methoden der historischen Soziolinguistik anzuwenden. Diese hat – insbesondere für das mittelalterliche Englisch – die sprachlichen Kategorien aufgezeigt, nach welchen die Sprecher ihre Sprache verstanden, beurteilten und mit ihr umgingen. Demnach sind die Texte möglichst ohne den Filter der neuzeitlichen und damit anachronistischen Kategorien zu interpretieren.

Der vorliegende Band enthält also Beiträge zur historischen Soziolinguistik und ihren Grenzen, ohne freilich bereits eine grundlegende Abhandlung über die griechische Sprache des Mittelalters darzustellen. Vielmehr wird der Leser unsere Auseinandersetzungen mit der methodologischen Problematik der historischen Soziolinguistik nachverfolgen können. Er wird entdecken, wie (und in welchem Ausmaß) der "ideale Leser" auch Mit-Autor eines Werkes wird. Er wird sich einnehmen lassen von den spannenden Schwierigkeiten, welche die Auffindung und Sammlung der Urteile der Byzantiner über ihre Sprache betreffen. Jene zeitgenössischen Beobachtungen erlauben uns beispielsweise zu verstehen, welche Wörter und welche syntaktischen Konstruktionen die Byzantiner als "Attisch" oder als "Koine" betrachteten, und welche pragmatische Funktion eine Varietät in ihrem jeweiligen Kontext innehatte. Historische Soziolinguistik bedeutet nicht nur, das Publikum und den Kontext zu berücksichtigen! Vielmehr fordert die historische Soziolinguistik uns dazu auf, zeitgenössische sprachliche Beobachtungen zu fin-

den, zu sammeln und zu bewerten, um die soziale Funktion der Sprache und ihrer Varianten verstehen und rekonstruieren zu können.

Der Wert dieses Sammelbandes soll weniger in den erzielten Einzelbeobachtungen bestehen als in der verfolgten Methode, auch wenn es sich zunächst nur um erste Schritte auf einem Weg mit noch ungewissem Ziel handeln kann. Aber gerade deshalb möchten wir den Kollegen besonders danken, die unserer Einladung nach Wien gefolgt sind, an den sehr konstruktiven Diskussionen teilgenommen und schließlich durch die schriftliche Fassung ihrer Beiträge das Zustandekommen der vorliegenden Publikation ermöglicht haben.

Wien, August 2016
Die Herausgeber

Andrea Massimo Cuomo

# Historical Sociolinguistics – Pragmatics and Semiotics, and the Study of Medieval Greek Literature

> ... and as people in areas beyond sociolinguistics begin to explore this interaction [i.e. between the *cognitive* and the *social*] they should not be re-inventing the sociolinguistic wheel (Eckert 2012: 2).

## Overview

Thanks to a generous grant awarded by the FWF (Fonds zur Förderung der wissenschaftlichen Forschung / Austrian Science Fund),[1] two workshops took place in Vienna at the Austrian Academy of Sciences in June 2013 and September 2014. They were aimed at gathering linguists, paleographers, and Byzantinists together to discuss the opportunity and method of studying the Medieval Greek language in the context of historical sociolinguistics (HSL).

This collective volume contains some of the papers presented at these workshops and records our discussions pertaining to the methodology used in HSL studies on Medieval Greek. Every included paper aims to contribute to this debate, according to each respective author's field of expertise: linguistics, lexicography, Greek palaeography, history, and philology. Therefore, this book represents only the beginning of a long journey; establishing HSL and pragmatic studies in our field will certainly require time and a multidisciplinary approach. After all, linguistic phenomena can, and should, be studied comparatively, regardless of the language in which they occur.[2]

[1] FWF-Projects nr. 23912 "Imitation/Innovation im Wortschatz der spätbyzantinischen historiographischen Literatur", and nr. 27764 "Classical education and society in Palaeologan Byzantium". I owe many thanks to Erich Trapp, the coeditor of this volume, to Christos Stavrakos, Martti Leiwo, and the anonymous reviewers.

[2] This methodology is used in sociolinguistics, historical pragmatics, and semiotics, fields that have promoted interdisciplinary workshops and studies for a long time. See, for instance, the series of *Symposia for Sociolinguistics*, the *Journal of Historical Pragmatics* (JHP), which also welcomed one of the papers presented at our workshop in

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In this introduction, I will deal firstly with the definition of HSL. I will then outline the two main targets of our HSL research on Medieval Greek, namely studies on linguistic phenomena, such as loanwords, and Atticized / Koine Greek, and on hermeneutics, and also look at historical socio-pragmatics and semiotics. Furthermore, I will mention some important *desiderata* in this field: In order to undertake HSL studies on Medieval Greek, for example, it is necessary to systematically analyze collections of *contemporaneous* Byzantine linguistic and pragmatic descriptions of Medieval Greek, such as medieval classroom texts, as well as the context in which these texts were produced. Studies on manuscripts and medieval book culture will help us with this task. Since HSL research on a language which is no longer spoken is only possible when statistically relevant amounts of data are made available for comparison, I will also stress the importance of searchable databases.

## 1. Historical Sociolinguistics: Definition, Applications and Challenges

Among linguists, the term *sociolinguistics* (SL) is notoriously ambiguous. Its peculiar ambiguity has led to different conceptualizations and even misunderstandings within and across the discipline. For example, Trudgill (1978: 1) pointed out, "the difficulty with sociolinguistics [...] is that it is a term which means many different things to many different people"; Bolton (1992: 8) argued that "'Sociolinguistics,' since its beginnings, has regularly faced a range of issues related to the adequate definition of its terms, and there have been frequent debates about its status as a field of study"; and, concerning the nature of the discipline, Lavandera (1988: 2) wrote that "we find among the various parts of the field considerable overlapping along many dimensions, so that two areas that share the same basic subject of investigation may disagree on methodology, while the methodology of one of them may be shared by researchers in an entirely different area of investigation."

2014 (Jorie Soltic, *Parenthetical "I say (you)" in Late Medieval Greek Vernacular. A Message-Structuring Discourse Maker rather than a Message-Conveying Verb*. In: *Journal of Historical Pragmatics* 16/2. 187–217), and the *Journal of Historical Sociolinguistics*.

The ambiguity of the term *sociolinguistics* may relate to the notion that *language* is itself a concept which can only be considered in its social dimension. In 1972, William Labov wrote: "I have resisted the term *sociolinguistics* for many years, since it implies that there can be a successful linguistic theory or practice which is not social." (Labov 1972: xiii) In this sense, the term *sociolinguistics* would actually be a pleonasm. However, more widespread and detailed definitions of the term, with which I agree, consider sociolinguistics "a branch of linguistics which studies all aspects of the relationship between language and society", (Crystal 1985: 281) or, as a field concerned with the description of language use as a social phenomenon that attempts – where possible – to establish dialectical or even causal relationships between language and society.

In turn, HSL has been conceived of as an independent sub-discipline of sociolinguistics. Romaine's book from 1982 marks the initiation of historical sociolinguistic studies. While she actually uses the label "sociohistorical linguistics," since Milroy (1992), the term "historical sociolinguistics" has become the most commonly used one and therefore the one that will also be used here (see Auer et al. 2015: 2).

HSL employs insights and principles from modern-day sociolinguistics according to the *uniformitarian principle*, (Auer et al. 2015: 4; Bergs 2012: 80–98; Joseph 2011: 69–70) which holds "that the processes which we observe in the present can help us to gain knowledge about processes in the past. [...] This means that when we analyze a historical phenomenon we should first look at known causes in order to explain it, before we turn to unknown causes. (Bergs 2012: 80)"[3]

Here, I define HSL as the discipline that explains *why texts are such as they are*. Given that the language is the product of a particular society, and texts are the means of communication occurring within a particular speech community, I do research on texts, considering them in their contexts of production and reception,[4] having as a working

[3] Romaine (1988: 1454, quoted from Nevalainen – Raumolin-Brunberg 2012: 25) had already pointed out that "the linguistic forces which operate today are observable around us are not unlike those which have operated in the past. This principle is of course basic to purely linguistic reconstruction as well, but sociolinguistically speaking, it means that there is no reason for believing that language did not vary in the same patterned ways in the past as it has been observed to do today." See below, 1.2.

[4] See below note 82.

question "who can say what, how, using what means, to whom, when, and why.[5]"

Hence, the definition of HSL, to which I adhere, suggests that any language description also implies textual interpretation because there is no effective language description that does not also comprehend the *social dimension*, the *pragmatic aspects*, and the *semiotic and hermeneutic processes*. Pragmatic aspects are involved in our studies, as we investigate the causes that generated the linguistic phenomena that we observe. In turn, semiotic and hermeneutic processes become relevant when we consider a language, in our case Medieval Greek, as a set of "signs" used by an author in order to convey meanings, i.e. to communicate to a *receptive* audience.[6] All these aspects are mutually interdependent. According to Hall, (1968) "language" (→ [historical] linguistics) is the institution whereby humans (→ social dimension/sociology) communicate and interact with each other (→ pragmatics) by means of habitually used, conventional, and arbitrary signs (→ semiotics).[7]

### 1.1. Linguistic Variation and Change

HSL also differs from SL in some important respects. While SL focuses on concepts such as a *language change in progress* by dealing with its data from the point of view of contemporary language use, HSL concentrates on *variation and change* from a diachronic perspective, and on the social role played by a language in a given historical speech community. The concept of *linguistic variation and change* is very broad and considers, in particular, phenomena concerning spelling (morphological variations which may be linked to regionalisms and/or changes in pronunciation), lexicography, and syntax. With regards to Medieval Greek, such HSL studies (particularly studies on the pragmatic and socio-historical causes of linguistic variations[8]) cannot be properly undertaken at this stage, because cases of "linguistic variation and change" have not yet been sys-

[5] Crystal 1977: 196. Crystal expands on the definition by Fishman 1965: 428: "Who speaks what language to whom and when."

[6] On language, considered as a set of signs, see Eco 1984: 14 (on Hjelmslev 1943: 51).

[7] Freely quoted from Salim 2001: 2. After all, as Hobsbaum (1970: 208) pointed out, "any viable theory of language must be at once semantic, evaluative, contextual and socially oriented."

[8] In my presentation at the workshops, I have spoken of "pragmatic function of variations," by which I meant that a medieval author could communicate by encoding messages by resorting to "variation/style/code-switching." I will develop this concept in the course of this introduction.

tematically collected and stored in searchable databases. There are, in addition, several other problems which impede these quantitative and qualitative analyses, beginning even with the fundamental sources – the texts themselves. For example, if an available critical edition provides a complete apparatus criticus, then it will also be a reliable source, in matters of spelling as well, for example.[9] In other words, the critical editions most loved by historical sociolinguists are those most hated by philologists and editors: the former would prefer these editions provided with ample, detailed, and all-inclusive *apparatus*, where even the most ordinary copyists' mistakes are recorded, whereas the latter would rather have minimal *apparatus*. Concerning Medieval Greek, and particularly its vernacular variety, where there was no standard orthography,[10] each scribe's variation is very important, particularly if it can be located in time and space. For these reasons, it is important for historical sociolinguists to have at their disposal sources (i.e. texts) whose textual transmission is transparent and thoroughly recorded. However, since editors legitimately aim to reconstruct the *Urtext*, they tend 1) to normalize and make different spellings coherent (evidently, they have as an axiom that the authors themselves were coherent in their writing); and 2) not to record in *apparatus* the variants of the manuscripts, unless they are essential to the *constitutio textus*.

There is plenty of material to discuss concerning the goals and techniques of editing medieval texts and other problems of collecting sociolinguistic-relevant data; but despite their indirect pertinence to HSL, such discussions would now lead our introduction away from the theme. For this reason, I would rather try to now give a sample of applied HSL studies on *variation and change*, and to include some examples, borrowed from my studies, undertaken alongside Vrato Zervan, on the loanwords in late Byzantine historiography. Although the abovementioned problems affect this field as well, studies on loanwords can be conducted with greater ease. Digitized collections of texts, such as the TLG, and dictionaries focusing on the peculiarities of Medieval Greek vocabulary, such as the LBG and Kriaras, make the research and analysis of loanwords possible on a larger scale. In addition, due to their ontologically innovative nature, foreign words are often accompanied by explanations and notes, provided by medieval authors, which help us gauge the impact of these terms on their audiences. In the following, I list some foreign terms used

[9] See below Horrocks' paper.

[10] See LBG and Kriaras almost at any lemma.

by late Byzantine historians, from the anonymously authored Metaphrasis of Niketas Choniates' *History* to Chalkokondyles. In the course of my comments, I will also focus on the way in which the authors introduce them in their texts.[11]

ὁ *ἀγᾶς*, substantive designating a Turkish (honorific) title. Dukas 211,12 attributes this title to a certain Demetrios, "the envoy of Giovanni Adorno." (Δημήτριόν τινα Ἀγάν.[12] See PLP 5260). In another passage, Dukas 307,8 writes *ἀγᾶς* together with the proper name of the awarded person, the janissary Fīrūz: Φερούζαγας.[13] In the Ottoman Turkish language, *aġa* means "sir," "supervisor, chief" and also designates the nethermost military officer (see Redhouse 1992²: 146a-b). An *ἀγάπασαν* appears in Chalkokondyles II 144,7 as a title of the janissary Kasangi Tugan (see Kurat 1933: 33, 74). It is probably an attempt to Hellenize the word.

οἱ *ἀγιάδες* is derived from Ottoman Turkish *yaya* (<Old Ottoman Turkish *yadağ*[14]) and indicates movement by foot, hence *pedestrian*, and *infantryman*. Only Chalkokondyles mentions *ἀγιάδες*, in II 115,1: Ἕτεροι ἄλλοι δ' αὖ οἱ Ασιανοὶ ἀγιάδες καλούμενοι, πεζός τε ὅμιλος ἐπί τε τὰς χρείας τοῦ στρατοῦ χρώμενος διατελεῖ, καὶ ἐς τὴν τῶν ὁδῶν κάθαρσιν ἄγεται τούτους καὶ ἐς τὰ στρατόπεδα. Then there is a whole other group of Asians called the *yayas*, a crowd that follows on foot and looks after the various needs of the army; they also clear the roads and the camps (transl. Kaldellis 2014: II, 109). Chalkokondyles underlines that it is a loanword by the marker "καλούμενοι" and, since the word has no parallels in Greek, he also describes what *ἀγιάδες* are.

ὁ *ἀζάπης* designates infantry soldiers or seamen. The word *ʿazab*, which in Arabic means *unmarried (young) man*, survives in Ottoman Turkish in the two expressions *yaya ʿazebleri* and *deñiz ʿazebleri*, indicating infantry soldiers and seamen respectively. Dukas uses this term to indicate a seaman (337,12) and a janissary. Chalkokondyles uses this

[11] Some of these examples were presented and discussed in my presentation in September 2014. For more details, please see the forthcoming book by Zervan et al. 2018, to which I also contributed. In order not to overwhelm the reader with bibliographic references, I only indicate secondary literature if this cannot be easily found in TLG, LBG, Kriaras, Moravcsik, or in the commentaries of respective critical editions from which I took the examples.

[12] For me, the capitalization of alpha is questionable.

[13] A study on the manuscripts can answer the question whether "*αγας*" in Φερούζαγας is an enclitic and should thus be written together or not.

[14] For the transformation of /d/ in /y/ see: Clauson 1972: 887.

word as a technical term twice and explains its meaning. In II 5,1, he writes: ἀζάπιδας τοὺς Τούρκων πεζοὺς οὕτω καλουμένους. "The Turkish infantry called azapis" (see Kaldellis 2014: 371) In II 10,7, he writes: οἱ δὲ ἀζαπίδες ὑφ' ἑνὶ ἄρχοντι ἑπόμενοι, ἐς ταὐτὸ γιγνόμενοι στρατεύονται. "The azapides follow one commander and campaign as a unit. (see Kaldellis 2014: 383)" The word generates a new Greek term, ἀζάπικος (τὰ ἀζάπικα), in the chronicles by Michael Panaretos (76,25). In Panaretos, the term refers to the ships used by the pirates for their robberies in the area of Trebizond.

ὁ ἀκιντζής, *looter*, is derived from the Ottoman Turkish word *akıncı*, which in turn designates the person who does a raid. This is what the word *akın* means. This term is used by Dukas: the *akıncı* announce in Serbia and in Walachia that Murad II is the new Sultan. 239,1: στέλλει οὖν ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ ἔτει ἀκιντζίδας ἐν Βλαχίᾳ καὶ ἐν Σερβίᾳ δεικνύων τὴν ἀνάρρησιν αὐτοῦ. The context does not help us understand the meaning of the word, and one would only infer that "ἀκιντζίδες" is the proper name for a division of the Turkish army. Chalkokondyles, however, provides us with more details in I 93,1–11. As unpaid soldiers, the "ἀκιντζίδες" may well have obtained their salary from raids and loots.

ἡ ἀκκή, *raid*. Dukas transliterates the Ottoman Turkish *akın* (see above) in 177, 2–3: Καὶ εἰ μόνον τὴν τοῦ κήρυκος φωνὴν ἀκούσωσι ὡς πρὸς ἐπιδρομήν, ὃ καλεῖται κατὰ τὴν αὐτῶν γλῶτταν ἀκκήν. See Lowry 2003: 46–48, from which (p. 46) I take this translation of Dukas' passage:

> The Turkish raiders are called in their language *akıncı*, which means 'those who flow,' and they are torrential rains that fall from the clouds. [...] Thus also the Turkish raiders, or 'those who flow,' like rainstorms, do not linger long, but wherever they strike they burn, plunder, kill and destroy everything so that for many years the cock will not crow there.

ὁ ἀκτουάριος means *court physician* in Akropolites (I 63, 16; see PLP 19865) and in Pachymeres (II 665, 17; see PLP 10067). The term comes from the Latin *actuarius*, which however means *bookkeeper*, as in its Italian and French derivatives. In a fourteenth-century manuscript containing the *Apotherapeutica Theophili*, ἀκτουάριος appears meaning *court physician*.[15] This is probably not a technical term *stricto sensu*, as several

[15] Laurentian Codex (Florence) Plut. 75,19. See editions by Kousis 1944: 35–45, and Ieraci Bio 1996: 215–225. And also Anastassiou – Irmer 2012: LXIII–LXIV (with bibliography therein) and p. 497.

examples discussed above, but an old loanword which evolved on its own within Medieval Greek.

ὁ ἀμηράλης, *admiral*. This lemma may originate from the Arabic word *amīr*, *commander*, *Commander in Chief*. The term is attested in Norman Sicily in the twelfth century and means *fleet commander*. In Medieval Greek, ἀμηράλης is first attested in Pachymeres II 641, 8.15 (see PLP 29835) and in IV 461, 33. Here Pachymeres explains that ἀμηράλης is a loanword: ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὖν, ἔξαρχον τῶν καθ' αὐτὸν καταστήσας νεῶν, οὐσῶν ὡσεὶ δώδεκα, ὃν ἀμιραλῆν ἡ ἐκείνων διάλεκτος ἐξυμνεῖ.

ὁ ἀμουραχούρης, *squire*. This word is derived from two Arabic words, namely *amīr* (i.e. commander) and *āhwur*/*āhwar* (i.e. *stud*/*stadle*). Akropolites, who first uses this term, attests to its Arabic origin: ἀνὴρ δέ τις τῶν ἐν Πέρσαις περιωνύμων, τὴν ἀξίαν ἀμυραχούρης, μέγα δὲ τοῦτο παρὰ Πέρσαις (I 138, 2). The term is also attested in Sphrantzes 134,20 and Chalkokondyles II 9,1.

ὁ ἀμυρτζαντάριος, *protos spatharios*, as attested to in Ps. Kodinos, 348, 36–38: αὐλῆς ὁ πριμμικήριος καὶ πρῶτος σπαθαρίων, ὅστις ἀμυρτζαντάριος καλεῖται κατὰ Πέρσας. The Persian word is derived from *amīr* (i.e. commander) and *jandār* (i.e. *bodyguard*) and survives also in Ottoman Turkish (see Macrides – Munitiz – Angelov 2013: 282). Panaretos uses this term in 68,1 (see PLP 17619).

ὁ ἀνακαράς, *cymbal* or *small timbale* / *a kind of timpani*, from the Arabic term *naqqāra*. Medieval Greek may well have borrowed this word from Romance languages (see for example the Italian *nacchere*). In the Metaphrasis of Niketas Choniates, ἀνακαράς replaces once κύμβαλον, and once μετὰ βυκάνων καὶ σαλπίγγων (alongside βούκινον), in 217 and 495 respectively.

ὁ ἀσηκρῆτις, *imperial secretary*, a transliteration of the Latin expression *a secretis* (see Binder 2000: 87–88, 97, 228). Late Byzantine historians also spell this word in the following ways: πρωτασηκρήτης / -ῆτις / πρωτοασηκρῆτις (see Pachymeres I 131, 16; 135, 19, etc.; Gregoras I 293, 16; Kantakuzenos I 118, 16).

ὁ βαΐουλος, *mentor, counselor to the Byzantine court, bailo (delegate of the Venetian Republic in Constantinople)*, from the Latin *baiulus*. This word appears also with the spelling "μπαΐουλος" in Pachymeres I 221,5 (Βενετικοῖς δὲ καὶ Πισσαίοις τὰ ὅμοια προσεφιλοτιμεῖτο, τοῖς μὲν ὑπὸ μπαϊούλῳ, ὃν Ἕλλην ἂν εἴποι ἐπίτροπον); III 269,17; Gregoras I 97,23 (... ἀποστελλόμενοι τούτων, ὁ μὲν ἐκ Βενετίας καλεῖται μπαΐουλος ... ἅπερ εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα φωνὴν μεταγόμενα τὸ μὲν τῶν ὀνομάτων καλεῖται ἐπίτροπος); Dukas 107,13. The Metaphrasis of Niketas Choniates (628) replaces the

expression τῷ παιδοκομῆσαι τὸν ῥῆγα (476, 62 ed. van Dieten) with ὡς βαΐουλος τοῦ ῥηγός.[16]

τὸ βεστιάριον, *imperial treasure chamber*. It is derived from the Latin *vestiarius*, which originally meant *wardrobe room*, *clothes for slaves*. According to Du Cange (Lat. 8, 292), it is from the sixth century on that *vestiarius* also means *papal / imperial treasure chamber*. Hesychius seems to know both these meanings, as he writes: β 636 βεστιάριον = τόπος, ἐν ᾧ τὰ χρήματα τίθεται καὶ τὰ ἱμάτια. By βεστιάριον, OikList 51,8 designates the *imperial* treasure chamber. Pachymeres describes Nikolaos Panaretos (PLP 21652) as a προκαθήμενος τοῦ βεστιαρίου. The Metaphrasis of Niketas Choniates replaces ταμεῖον (*treasury*) in 75, 195, 272; χρυσών (*golden/gold*) in 270; and γάζα (*treasure*) in 465 respectively. In Medieval Greek, this old accepted loanword, is perceived as a technical term (see Pachymeres) and has lost the connotation of *clothes/wardrobe*, whereas the derivative βεστιάριος keeps this original meaning and also means *housekeeper* as in Akropolites I 7,4 (see Macrides 2007: 112) and Skutariotes (Tocci 2015: II, 325 = p. 175)

τὸ βιτσομάχαιρον, *sword*, *knife*, is a compound composed of βέτζα/βίτζα/βίτσα[17] (from the Latin *vitis*, see REW 9388) and μάχαιρον (as in παραμάχαιρον *dagger,*[18] and in σαθαρομάχαιρον / σπαθομάχαιρον *short sword*, see LBG s.vv.). This word is used to replace ἐπίμηκες ξίφος in the Metaphrasis of Niketas Choniates (458).

τὸ βουλγίδιον, *leather bag*, *small container*. From the Latin *bulga*, to which the suffix of the diminutive was added. The word appears in Constantine Porphyrogenitus' *Book of Ceremonies* three times, always alongside δισάκκιον (*double sack*, *pannier*. See Ital. *bisaccia*), and in his *Treatises on Imperial Military Expeditions.*[19] In the Metaphrasis of Niketas Choniates (262), this term replaces θύλακος (*sack*). This term indicates a trend within loanwords: Those terms, which had been present in Medieval Greek for a long time, lost their foreign flavor over the years and became Hellenized (β. receives the suffix -ίδιον). Nevertheless, they still belonged to a lower register.

ἡ βράκα, *trousers*, from the Medieval Latin *braca*. Niketas Choniates (van Dieten 1975: 273,85–87) uses this word in very irreverent and dis-

[16] Henry of Kalden was indeed one of the teachers of Emperor Henry VI. See Pontani 2014a: 464.

[17] See Kriaras s.v. βίτσα.

[18] See the Metaphrasis of Niketas Choniates 779.

[19] C 247, 260, 302 (ed. Haldon 1990).

respectful context. He describes the coronation of the hated Andronikos and says that after receiving the Sacraments, he exited the church of Christos Soteros in Chalkè on his horse very quickly. This was unusual, as newly crowned emperors would celebrate triumphs by moving on foot. "And this event was debated." – writes Choniates – "Some people, moved by inspiration, uttered that his cowardice was the cause of this spectacle; others thought that the old guy had pooped his pants.[20]" The word βράκα of the original is not included in the rephrased redaction of this passage in the Metaphrasis (353). It was, evidently, the context that allowed Choniates to use this low-register term.[21]

ἡ ντζούστρα, *joust*, from the Italian *giostra*. Nikephoros Gregoras describes some of the games invented by the Latins in order to keep soldiers in shape when they did not have to fight. These were organized by Andronikos II in 1332.[22] Gregoras writes (I 482, 10–11): τούτων ὁ μὲν εἷς μονομαχίας ἔνδειξιν ἔχει καὶ ντζούστρα παρὰ Λατίνοις καλεῖται. Interestingly, he firstly describes the game by using μονομαχία, and then provides the reader with the transcription of the Latin name. Kantakuzenos also transcribes the Latin term, although slightly differently in I 205, 14. Here he also describes new games, which had been introduced to Byzantium by the Latins: καὶ τὴν λεγομένην τζουστρίαν καὶ τὰ τερνεμέντα αὐτοὶ πρῶτοι ἐδίδαξαν Ῥωμαίους οὔπω πρότερον περὶ τῶν τοιούτων εἰδότας οὐδέν (I 205, 14–16). In both texts, it is clear that ντζούστρα/τζουστρία is a foreign term. In the same context (Gregoras I 483,3 and Kantakuzenos I 205, 14) the word *τορνεμέν* (from the French *tournement* and MedLat *torneamentum*) / *τερνεμέντον* appears. This word, in both its recorded spellings, is a transliteration of Latin terms.

These examples help us focus on four relevant points. 1) HSL aims to identify linguistic patterns by considering statistically relevant amounts of data. As loanwords are elements of novelty in a language, it is relevant to study and understand *why* their use had been promoted and *the extent* of their impact on Medieval Greek. 2) The criterion for the selection

[20] See Pontani 1999: 614–615; and van Dieten 1979: 273,15sqq: ἦν οὖν τὸ γεγονὸς τοῦτο εἰς ἀμφίλογον· οἱ μὲν γὰρ δειλίαν τὸ ποητικὸν αἴτιον τοῦ ὁρωμένου ἀπεφοίβαζον, οἱ δὲ κεχοδέναι τὴν βρακα τὸ γερόντιον διετείνοντο...

[21] See, however, van Dieten 1975: 273, apparatus criticus ll. 86–89.

[22] Niketas Choniates (van Dieten 1979: 108,55 παιδιᾶς ἡμέραν συνθηματίζεται δι' ἀσιδήρων δορατισμῶν) also described a tourney, meaning a recreational and simulated fight involving two ranks of knights "contrapposto alla giostra, cioè il combattimento di un cavaliere contro un solo avversario o bersaglio. (Zorzi 2012: 173)"

of loanwords is certainly partial and superficial, because it only takes into account calques, and ignores more "Hellenized" terms, and "does not properly differentiate between real loanwords and foreign words."[23] 3) Despite much effort in retracing how these loanwords sounded to the Byzantines (only Chalkokondyles helps us, as he often uses loanwords alongside explanations), I cannot compare my reconstructions of the Byzantine point of view to any manuals of style of that time, nor to any marginal notes in manuscripts which may record how the Byzantines viewed loanwords, and how these words had to be used. 4) An HSL analysis of foreign words can nevertheless reveal something about the context of production and reception; that is, we can *at least infer* whether the public of that time was inclined to read texts occasionally stained by foreign words; whether such words needed explanations or were commonly used; whether an author employed loanwords in order to reach a wider audience, or because he was influenced by the literary genre (historiography), or because loanwords were simply indispensable and inevitable technical terms used to properly designate things.

To sum up: One can argue that loanwords generally belonged to a lower register and that the vocabulary of both low-register and vernacular Greek was permeated by foreign influences. This is supported, I think, by the fact that difficult words and/or locutions in Niketas Choniates' *History* are often replaced by loanwords in the Metaphrasis.[24] On the contrary, when loanwords are used in high-register texts (for example Pachymeres, Kantakuzenos, Gregoras, Chalkokondyles, and Kritoboulos), they may have then sounded exotic and seem to have been used to embellish the texts, as they may have indicated erudite ethnographic research undertaken by the authors. This happens particularly with terms designating officers in the army or public servants. However, Byzantine historians generally preferred to use traditional and literary Greek terms in high-register texts, for example when indicating weaponry.[25] Kananos, Dukas, and Sphrantzes often emphasize the fact that these words are foreign or loanwords, or represent a temporary contrast to the rest of their prose. If a loanword is simultaneously a calque and a transliteration (meaning it is not "Hellenized"), Byzantine authors resort to the synonymic dittography, often by using discourse markers

[23] See Leiwo 2012: 7.

[24] See also Niketas Choniates van Dieten 1975: 273, 85–87, and above the term βράκα.

[25] For exceptions, see Cuomo 2014, e.g. s.v. σκευή.

such as "τουτέστιν[26]". The majority of the loanwords recorded by late Byzantine historians are substantives labeling new discoveries, new technologies, etc. Very rarely can one find verbs. In high-register texts, moreover, it seems that verbs borrowed from a foreign language are only used if they cannot be easily recognizable as such, and already "Hellenized."

### 1.2. The Ideational Anachronism

We can now leave this excursus and get back on track. We have just seen that there are numerous factors that HSL has to take into account in order to explain the causes of linguistic variation and change in a given language. In this respect, it can be argued that, whereas SL is located at the intersection of mainly two different fields, namely *sociology* and *linguistics*, HSL finds itself dealing with four different fields: *history, philology, linguistics,* and *social sciences*. Bergs (2005: 12), actually, mentions only three dimensions.[27] Nevertheless, I would add a fourth dimension, *philology*, because it is the historical-philological approach to written sources that enable us to effectively fight the accusation of "ideational anachronism. (Bergs 2012: 82sqq.)". In fact, transposing "modern concepts such as *social class, gender* or *prestige* to historical settings (Auer et al. 2015: 5)" is certainly an insidious problem for our studies.[28] But it is with *philology* and the consequent studies on the socio-cultural context in which a language was used (both by authors and their audiences), that we can solve the problem concerning the validity and the diachronic universality of sociolinguistic principles and categories.

In regard to the above, there is a common misunderstanding worth discussing here. Some believe that HSL methodology cannot be applied to the study of Medieval Greek effectively, because we rarely know, for example, authors' social class and, if we do know it, we are not well enough informed about the linguistic features that characterize the examined author's sociolect. This is a minor problem, because it is the social dimension and function *of the language* within its speech community that we study, and not *authors'* social class or gender. In fact, the literary texts in Medieval Greek that we analyze are always written in a

[26] See e.g. Cuomo 2016, lines 112, 258.

[27] "Historical Sociolinguistics (Milroy 1992) or socio-historical linguistics (Romanie 1982) is to be found at the intersection not of two, but of three different fields: *history*, *social sciences*, and *linguistics*. As such, it not only has to incorporate theories, practices, and paradigms from all three fields, but it also has to struggle with and in conflicts that originate in all three areas" (2005: 12; see also figure 1 p. 8).

[28] See also Nevalainen 1999: 502–503.

rigidly codified language, on which the influences of an author's gender, social extraction, or prestige are insignificant and negligible; whereas linguistic and stylistic norms, literary genre, and other sociocultural factors (such as level of education) affected the language more drastically. In other words: the more a language is codified and artificial, and the higher the audience's education and expectations are,[29] the less do authors' social status, literary genre, etc. matter. Thus, even if we were to study, for example, the correspondence of the Byzantine cultural elites, I do not think that we can follow *tout-court* the (successful) methods of inquiry used by historical sociolinguists and pragmatists in the analysis of similar corpora, written in languages other than Medieval Greek, such as, the Corpus of Early English Correspondence (CEEC) or the Corpus of Nineteenth-Century English (CONCE).[30] Similarly, HSL variationist studies may well use the (still) ambiguous term "sociolect", as long as it is clear that the addressee's expectations and the socio-literary conventions[31] shape his/her sociolect more than age, gender, social background. Indubitably, the *coetus* of the intellectuals constitutes a social class, and those who belonged to it developed a codified variety, which is beautifully mirrored, for example, in the epistolary production (see, e.g., Pascale 2007). This variety, however, was more influenced by the then-current literary conventions than by authors' social backgrounds. It is with these presuppositions that we use the concept of "sociolect of

[29] Mutatis mutandis, Wiater (2011: 57) is worth mentioning here: "Writing Classical texts has based on knowledge of a complex set of rules of literary composition which enabled Classical authors to determine the emotional effects of their text to the recipients". As far as audiences' expectations are concerned, see Arist. *Rhet*. 1, 1358b: Ἔστιν δὲ τῆς ῥητορικῆς εἴδη τρία τὸν ἀριθμόν· τοσοῦτοι γὰρ καὶ οἱ ἀκροαταὶ τῶν λόγων ὑπάρχουσιν ὄντες. Σύγκειται μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τριῶν ὁ λόγος, ἔκ τε τοῦ λέγοντος καὶ περὶ οὗ λέγει καὶ πρὸς ὅν, καὶ τὸ τέλος πρὸς τοῦτόν ἐστιν, λέγω δὲ τὸν ἀκροατήν. The kinds of Rhetoric are three in number, corresponding to the three kinds of listeners. For every speech is composed of three parts: the speaker, the subject of which he treats, and the person to whom it is addressed, I mean the listener, to whom the end or object of the speech refers (Transl. Freese 1926, slightly modified). See also Quattrocelli 2009: 260. I will focus on audience's expectations in another article.

[30] CEEC is a corpus of letters covering the period between 1410 and 1681: it is a project of the University of Helsinki, see Nevalainen – Raumolin-Brunberg 1996 (http://www.helsinki.fi /varieng/CoRD/corpora/CEEC/index.html accessed September 7, 2016). CONCE is a corpus of various texts, compiled by M. Kytö, Uppsala University and J. Rudanko, University of Tampere (see Kytö *et al*. 2000).

[31] Both addressees' expectations and socio-literary conventions are given, e.g., by the literary genre to which a text belonged, and by the event during which a text would be performed (such as the intimate context of a reading of a letter to a group of peers; or the Imperial palace where public speeches, λόγοι βασιλικοί, were given). On the concept of *Theatron* in Byzantium see Grünbart 2007, particularly Toth's article, and Gaul 2011

the cultivated elites of the Palaeologan era" later in this book.[32] In order to address sociolinguistically relevant questions, such as "Why did an author write in this way rather than in that way?", HSL studies on Medieval Greek will therefore consider other factors of linguistic variation, such as the communicative context, the social function of Medieval Greek, medieval textbooks for the teaching of Greek, and the pragmatic functions of variations (in style, genre, syntax, morphology, etc.), conventionally used and recognized as such by the medieval speakers of Greek themselves.

### 1.3. The Data Issue

Let us now consider another serious obstacle to the application of HSL methodology. We have seen that HSL focuses on the language in its social context; hence, it looks for the environmental causes of linguistic variation and change, that is, it examines why an author uses a language in *this* manner rather in *that* manner. Among the environmental causes, there is also the author's pragmatic (i.e. communicative) intention. In turn, the audience's (interpretative) response plays a role in determining the authors' pragmatic intentions, as authors try to predict, provoke, and lead it. But, how can we discover "the environmental causes"? How can we outline the author's communicative intentions, which influence his linguistic choices? Which sources can help us in recreating and studying the effects that the use of different styles or linguistic variations produced in their speakers? This is the well-known *data issue*, the Achilles' heel from which HSL research on Medieval Greek also suffers.

Current debates in HSL label our data as *bad* (Labov 1994: 11) or *imperfect* (as Joseph 2011; see also Janda and Joseph 2003: 14).[33] But, I would say, should we not rather consider them as *being difficult to recover and use*? On the one hand, it is true that even the most complete collection of data in our field will always be incomplete, if compared with collections in present-day sociolinguistics, as it will always be lacking in – at least – first-hand speakers' perspectives and phonetic records. On this point, Labov (1994: 11) stated that "our knowledge of what was distinctive and what was not is severely limited, since we cannot use the knowledge of native speakers to differentiate nondistinctive from distinctive variants." On the other hand, as far as Medieval Greek is con-

[32] See e.g. Valente's and Bianconi's papers.

[33] The data issue was also discussed in Nevalainen 1999 (esp. 503–504), and Nevalainen – Raumolin-Brunberg 2003: 26–27.

cerned, I would rather say that "the knowledge of native speakers" can actually be recreated – although with difficulty – insofar as the medieval writers used a standardized and codified Greek which they learnt at school and which we, in turn, can learn by analyzing and using their contemporary text books.[34] There are certainly other sources, which may enable us to recover the essential "speech community's perspective." For example, the Metaphrasis of Niketas Choniates' *Historia* can become an important viewpoint from which we can consider the language used (and spoken?) at court in the thirteenth century in Constantinople.[35] There may be also other ways to recover the Byzantine perspective, for example by undertaking studies on the Chrysobullae, acts of chancelleries, and any other text, which can be defined as "free from literary conventions" (despite their using of *formulae*), such as private annotations (prayers, etc.) preserved in manuscripts; graffiti, epigraphs; cartularies, acts of monasteries, typika, testaments, etc. Such a study is certainly overwhelming: in order to provide HSL relevant data, one should indeed 1) answer the question "why and when, and to whom these texts have been written"; 2) give a name to their authors.[36]

As a conclusion of this first part, let us now focus on Byzantine classroom texts. Let us say that we want to analyze the role played by the high-register variety of Medieval Greek (i.e. Atticized Greek) in the Medieval Greek speech community in the Palaeologan time. Since the Atticized variety of Medieval Greek was a standardized and codified Greek, which its medieval users, both authors and audiences, learnt at school by the means of textbooks,[37] the textbooks that we have to take into account are not only those written during the Palaeologan era, but

[34] Hence, once again, author's social status, gender, etc. affect their language (and consequently do not matter to our HSL studies) less than education, target audience, context of reception and formal rules of literary composition.

[35] Martin Hinterberger and John Davies are currently preparing the critical edition. This publication and the relative linguistic study will certainly further the HSL studies on Medieval Greek.

[36] Given that these are non-literary texts, it will be probably possible to recognize class, age, and social-based patterns. (On this point see Kiełkiewicz-Janowiak 2012: 307–331).

[37] Note that not only grammar books, but also specific Lexica (or Dictionaries) of "Attic" words, encyclopedic and anthological collections of texts, collections of model phrases and sentences to be used as syntactic models for composition, linguistic and syntactic commentaries on the Greek classics, whose language (the Attic Greek, indeed) was to be imitated, etc. should all go under the label of "textbooks for the study of Atticized Greek".

also older manuscripts, which were still used and had an impact during that age.

If we could extract linguistic information from Byzantine textbooks,[38] and put these into a searchable database, in which collected words and syntactic constructions have been tagged in order to retrace whether any Byzantine author ever labelled them as high- or low-register Greek, we would certainly advance historical sociolinguistic studies of Medieval Greek. The gain for HSL studies would be even greater, if our database were linked to collections of texts in Medieval Greek available on the internet. A database is indeed an indispensable instrument for HSL studies on Medieval Geek, for it makes quantitative and statistical analyses possible.

After collection of then-current linguistic descriptions, which enable us to describe Atticized Greek from the perspective of its original users, a second step will follow: defining *who* used this variety of Medieval Greek, to *whom* and *why*. *A priori*, as we have seen, it is the level of education that influenced authors' ability in writing in Atticized Greek more than gender, social class, age, and provenance. I thus believe that our analyses of texts written in Atticized Greek can properly define 1) the users' efforts and ability to express their thoughts in that variety of Medieval Greek; 2) the social function granted to it by its users. I do not believe that merely by linguistically analyzing texts as they appear, can we sketch the social, gender, or geographical profile of the writer.[39]

Of course, by comparing texts, we can define which *termini* and syntactic constructions belonged to which semantic area:[40] studies in his-

[38] I am using the terms "classroom text / textbook" in an oversimplified manner (see Bianconi 2010a). Actually, it is difficult to define whether a book, which has been commented and annotated by an erudite for personal use only, was also employed in didactic contexts. Moreover, it is impossible to exclude that very old manuscripts (even these dating back to the IX/X centuries) were used by Palaeologan teachers.

[39] Let us consider the famous example, brought by Robert Browning (1997: 107–108). "A teacher's pupils, especially in the capital, might include the sons or nephews of men whose wealth, social position, and influence put them far higher in the social pyramid than any teacher, however gifted or distinguished he might be." Nevertheless, if we judged by their writing, who would we consider to be from a higher social class? Theodore Hyrtakenos, the "hardworking teacher of rhetoric" and "minor man of letters in the early fourteenth century", or the "spoiled" son of Theodore Metochites, chief minister of the emperor Andronikos II, who neglected his studies and devoted himself to horsemanship?

[40] Several examples in Rollo 2008. See also Bentein's studies, and Willi 2003 (particularly on Aristophanes); Lewis 2016 (on gender speech in Sophocles' *Electra*) and Redondo 2016 (also on Aristophanes).

torical linguistics[41] traditionally focus not only on sociolects, jargons, and on particular characteristics of single varieties of Medieval Greek (especially of the vernacular) with increasing reliability, but also on the use and on the social implications of these varieties.[42]

As we have mentioned above, Atticized Greek was a sociolect, but *sui generis*: one was not born a user of Atticized Greek, but became one. This is why, more than inborn causes, it was people's dedication to the studies and personal motivations (such as love for the inherited culture, the willingness to make a career, to succeed in those sectors of society where the use of Atticized Greek was necessary, etc.) that affected their use of Atticized Greek the most.

The study of textbooks is useful not only for quantitative and statistical analyses. It is also indispensable for avoiding anachronistic linguistic studies: In defining what Atticized Greek, and what Koiné was, we have in fact to resort to the linguistic competencies of the native speakers recovered from the textbooks for the teaching of Greek.

Recovering the linguistic categories, according to which the Byzantines judged and considered their language may require time, and be difficult, but it is not impossible––as the following examples will show. They are taken from my forthcoming critical edition of the commentaries on Sophocles' *Electra* contained in the Moschopulean manuscripts.[43] Since the Greek poets, Sophocles included, were read at schools at an elementary stage, with the aim of teaching "Attic" Greek, the scholia on their works contain the largest number of linguistic comments, which

[41] Within studies in Greek linguistics, for example, regarding the role of genderlectal variation in Koine Greek, Teodorsson's 1979 applied the tenets of contemporary sociolinguistic investigation and interpretation to a past situation (see Joseph 2011: 70). In addition, more recently, Martin Hinterberger's (2014) collective volume on the language of Byzantine learned literature also stressed the importance of the comprehension of linguistic phenomena for the study of Medieval Greek. Among the historical linguistic studies on Medieval Greek, the following milestones are to be remembered here: Bentein – Janse – Soltic 2014; Horrocks 2010²; Holton 2010; Holton – Manolessou 2010; and particularly Rollo 2008 (with ample bibliographical references). In the field of classical philology, pragmatics and literary theories have attracted a great interest: see e.g. Fowler 1995 (http://www.cisi.unito.it/arachne/num2/fowler.html [last visited August 3, 2016]); Fowler and Fowler 1998; Hose 1998 and 2000; Kendra 2012; Schmitz 2015. Linguistic studies on Greek dialects, idiolects/sociolects, and linguistic variations applied to textual criticism have also obtained good appeal: e.g. Colvin 1995 and 1999, Dickey 1996, and Willi 2003; Lewis 2016, and Redondo 2016. Similarly, historical linguistics focused on the history of Greek: e.g. Adrados 2005; Colvin 2007; Bakker 2010.

[42] Several examples in Rollo 2008.

[43] The Moschopulean manuscripts of Sophocles have been listed by Turyn 1949: 94–173, and Turyn 1952.

virtually *viva voce* inform us on what the Byzantines considered to be high-register Greek (Atticized), or low-register Greek (Koiné or Common Greek). All in all, Byzantine classroom texts are remarkably important for HSL studies on Medieval Greek, even those aimed at commenting on Greek classics. These are structured as follows: The glosses/*glossae* are interlinear notes aimed at explaining poetic, difficult or rare Attic words, by giving an easier synonym,[44] often in Common Greek. The comments/*scholia* are marginal notes, which provide readers with textual explanations, by often rendering the Attic text into Common Greek, and indicate when to use which of the two variants of Medieval Greek.[45]

The following list contains the most meaningful *scholia* (Σ) and *glossae* on Sophocles' *Electra*, transmitted by the Moschopulean mss., which show the potentialities of sociolinguistic studies on classroom texts.[46]

δέξασθέ μ' εὐτυχοῦντα **ταῖσδε ταῖς ὁδοῖς·** (68)
*May you receive me, so that I have good fortune* ***on these journeys***

68 ταῖσδε ταῖς ὁδοῖς] ἤγουν κατὰ ταύτην τὴν πορείαν· τῶν Ἀττικῶν ἐστι τὸ λέγειν τινὰ πληθυντικῶς ἀντὶ ἑνικῶν·[47] οἷον *τὴν νύκτα*, *νύκτας*· *τὸν ἔνδικον φόνον*, *ἐνδίκους σφαγὰς*·[48] ἀντὶ τοῦ *τῇδε τῇ ὁδῷ*, *ταῖσδε ταῖς ὁδοῖς*: D

on these journeys (dat *pl*)] that is, *in this course/enterprise* (kata + acc *sg*). It is a peculiarity of the Attic language to say something in plural instead of in singular, such as *the night, nights*; *the legitimate killing*; *the legitimate slaughters*; instead of *this journey, these journeys*.

[44] The Synonym is often simply overwritten. Sometimes it is introduced by ἤγουν, ἀντὶ τοῦ, τουτέστιν, or by the formula XYZ μὲν κοινῶς/ὸν, ZYX δὲ Ἀττικῶς/όν (see Valente 2016).

[45] I hope that I will be able to provide a bilingual morpho-syntactic lexicon of the Atticized/Koine Greek, based on Moschopulean classroom texts, in the near future.

[46] They are excerpted from Dindorf, Brunck, and my own transcription. Scholia and glossae to *Electra* are punctuated according to the Byzantine rules (Cuomo 2016: XLVI–LII). Manuscripts are abbreviated as follows: D = Neap. II F 9 (see Formentin 1995: 124–131 and Günther 1995: passim); Xs = Vind. Suppl. gr. 71 (second half of the fourteenth century); Xr = Vind. Phil. gr. 161 (a. 1412). For a study on the linguistic scholia contained in the Moschopulean mss. of Sophocles see Cuomo 2017.

[47] I did not find any parallel to this statement. However, see Moeris (ed. Hansen 1998): α 14 and φ 4, respectively ἀντίγραφα] πληθυντικῶς Ἀττικοί· ἀντίγραφον Ἕλληνες. Φακούς] πληθυντικῶς Ἀττικοί· φακήν Ἕλληνες.

[48] See El. 37 "*ἐνδίκους σφαγὰς*". In the manuscripts, the adjective ἔνδικος refers to σφαγάς. Modern editions (see Finglass 2007: 104) suggest to write ἐνδίκου, linked to the preceding χειρός.

ὅπως πάθῃς τί χρῆμα; **ποῦ** ποτ᾽ εἶ φρενῶν; (390)
*So that what can happen?* ***Where*** *are you with your thoughts (i.e. Where are your wits)?*

390 **ποῦ** ποτ᾽ εἶ φρενῶν] τὸ ποῦ Ἀττικῶς γενικῇ: D || τὸ ποῦ οἱ Ἀττικοὶ, μετὰ γενικῆς Xr

The manuscripts D and Xr inform us that, according to the Attic syntax, the interrogative pronoun "ποῦ" (where?) requires the genitive.

ὅπως ἀφ᾽ ὑμῶν ὡς **προσώτατ᾽** ἐκφύγω· (391)
*So that I may flee* ***as far as possible*** *from you all*

**προσώτατ᾽**] τὸ πρόσω ἀντὶ τοῦ πορρωτάτω· οἱ γὰρ Ἀττικοὶ κειμένων ἐν λέξει δύο ρρ, τρεποῦσι τὸ ἓν εἰς σ᾽· βλέπε καὶ ἕτερον ὅμοιον·θάρρος ἦν καὶ τρόπος τοῦ ἑνὸς ρ᾽ εἰς σ᾽. θάρσος: D || τὸ προσώτατα ἀντὶ τοῦ πορρώτατα· οἱ γὰρ Ἀττικοὶ κειμένων ἐκ λέξει δύο ρρ, τρέπουσι τὸ ἓν εἰς σ· θάρρος θάρσος· πόρρω πρόσω· Xr

*as far as possible*] *the <adverb> πρόσω, instead of the <adverb, superlative,> πορρωτάτω (i.e. farthest). When there are two rhos (ρρ) in a word, the Attics change one of them into a sigma (σ). Look also at the other similar <example>: θάρρος becomes θάρσος because of the change of a rho (ρ) into a sigma (σ). D || the <adverb> προσώτατα, instead of πορρώτατα;*[49] *in fact, when there are two rhos (ρρ) in a word, the Attics change one of them into a sigma (σ), such as θάρρος into θάρσος, and πόρρω into πρόσω*. Xr

Προσώτατα and προσωτάτω are both common forms of the superlative of the adverb πρόσω.[50] By writing "τὸ πρόσω (i.e. προσωτάτω) ἀντὶ τοῦ πορρωτάτω", the ms. D simultaneously glosses the adverb προσώτατα (= προσωτάτω) and informs about the morphological phenomenon, which involves the two rhos (ρρ).

γέρα τἀδ᾽ **οὐν τάφοισι** δέξασθαι νέκυς, (443)
<Do you think> that the dead man is likely to receive these honors **in the graves**...?

443 **οὐν τάφοισι**] ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐν τάφῳ, Ἀττικῶς· DXsXr

in the graves] instead of *in the grave*, in Attic.

[49] See LBG s.v. πορρώτερος.

[50] According to our knowledge, see GE s.v. πρόσω, in poetry we find the forms πρόσσω and πόρσω: Attic: πόρρω (poet. also πρόσσω and πόρσω); comparative: προσωτέρω, Att. πορρωτέρω; Medieval Greek: προσώτερον; superlative: προσωτάτω Att. πορρωτάτω.

According to DXsXr, it is the plural used for singular that is here described as "Attic". See above on verse 68.[51] Talking to her sister Chrysothemis, Electra is here referring to Agamemnon; hence, one would expect the singular.[52]

452 ζῶμα (ζῶσμαXr)] ζῶμα ἀττικῶς ἀντὶ τοῦ ζῶσμα Xs || ζώνην Xr.[53]

538 **τἄμ'**] τὰ ἐμὰ Ἀττικῶς ἀντὶ τοῦ τὸ ἐμὸν· ἤγουν τὴν ἐμὴν θυγατέρα Xs || τὰ ἐμὰ Ἀττικῶς ἀντὶ τοῦ τὸ ἐμὸν XrThe glossa affirms that the neuter (τὰ ἐμὰ) used for persons is an Attic construction.[54] Τὰ ἐμὰ, in this case, refers to Iphigenia: "my daughter (τὴν ἐμὴν θυγατέρα acc sg; Clytemnestra is here speaking)".

586 **δρῶσα τυγχάνεις**] ἀντὶ τοῦ δρᾷς Xs || ἀντὶ τοῦ δρᾷς, Ἀττικόν· DXr
*586 you happen to be doing ] instead of "you do" Xs || "you happen to be doing" instead of "you do" is and Attic construction.*

I would like to stress that the expression "δρῶσα τυγχάνεις" is probably used only because it is stronger than the simple "δρᾷς", and that the presence of "τυγχάνεις" echoes the verb "τυγχάνοις" (v. 583). However, this glossa testifies that the construction with the verb τυγχάνω + participle instead of the simple indicative was perceived as "Attic" in late Palaeologan period.

καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους πάντας **ἀσφαλεῖς** δρόμους (741)
and <Orestes had driven> all the other **safe** laps/circuits...

741 **ἀσφαλεῖς**[55]] ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀσφαλῶς Ἀττικῶς D || ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀσφαλῶς Xs || Ἀττικῶς ἀσφαλῶς Xr

[51] These are not the only cases in which this explanation is provided. I just opted for presenting a selection of them.

[52] The manuscript D inserts the explanation of this peculiarity (plural pro singular) in a paraphrase of the verse as well: 443 οὐν τἀφοισι δἐξασθαι νέκυς] δοκεῖ ὁ νέκυς δἐξασθαι <ἐν> τἀφοισι – ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐν τῷ τἀφῳ Ἀττικῶς· τὸ πληθυντικὸν ἀντὶ ἑνικοῦ – τἀδε τὰ γέρα·

[53] See Th. Mag. *Ecl*. p. 165: ζῶμα ἡ ζώνη, οὐ ζῶσμα. A similar phenomenon occurs in ζωμάτιον and ζωσμάτιον, see LBG.

[54] "Adjectives (including possessives) in the neuter singular and plural, and the pronoun οὐδέν, refers to persons, both in general statement and elsewhere (Moorhouse1982: 14–15)". See also: Bruhn 1899: §§ 2, 4; and Finglass 2007: ad loc. (: 14–15).

[55] ἀσφαλεῖς is the reading of DXsXr, and of the other mss. In some modern critical editions of Sophocles, Reiske's conjecture ἀσφαλής is adopted (Reiske 1753: 17). There, the adjective is linked to Orestes.

<Writing> ***safe*** (adj. masc. pl., related to δρόμους) instead of *safely* (adv.) is Attic.

1306 **ὑπηρετοίμην**] ὑπηρετῶ καὶ ὑπηρετοῦμαι ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ· ὧν τὸ μὲν, λέγεται κοινῶς· τὸ δὲ ὑπηρετοῦμαι, παρὰ τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς· XsXr, Brunck and Dindorf

**ὑπηρετοίμην** (verb ὑπηρετῶ mid form)] *Both the active and the middle form of the verb* "ὑπηρετῶ" *have the same meaning. However, the active form belongs to the Koine Greek, whereas the middle form* (ὑπηρετοῦμαι) *is used in the Attic*. This Byzantine comment reveals us that it is the middle form of this verb (ὑπηρετῶ) which was considered to be "Attic" and not the active. This is exactly the opposite thing that we think nowadays: based on our linguistic knowledge, we would never label the middle as "Attic," whereas the Byzantines did. In the medieval manuscripts, which contain the text of Sophocles, we read the verb "ὑπηρετοίμην," which is medium. Modern editors of Sophocles (see Lloyd-Jones – Wilson 1990 and Finglass 2007) correct the text transmitted by the manuscripts and write the active form "ὑπηρετοίην." They do so, because "the active is the form favored by classical usage; the middle barely occurs in classical or Hellenistic Greek (instances at Hdt. 1.108.5 and Xen. *Hell*. 5.2.34), whereas it becomes common in the imperial and Byzantine period" (Finglass 2007: 488).

If we wanted to judge the writing of a Byzantine author who uses the verb ὑπηρετῶ in its medium form, we have to use Byzantine linguistic categories and not our own. If we used our linguistic categories, we would conclude that the late Byzantine author, whose high-register text we are studying, is switching into a lower register, because we see him using ὑπηρετῶ in its middle form, a form that we would label as Koine. This is true, according to *our* categories; but *false*, according to the Byzantine categories. And since style/code switching matters, in terms of communication, the usage of inappropriate (i.e. not Byzantine) linguistic categories may lead us to over-interpret, if not misunderstand Byzantine texts.

1422/3 φοινία δὲ χεὶρ / στάζει θυηλῆς Ἄρεος] στάζει δὲ αἵματος, Ἀττικῶς· ὡς· ἔπιε τοῦ ὕδατος[56]· DXs.

*The bloody hand / drips of the sacrifice of Ares*] <*the expression*> *"drips of blood" is Attic; like "he/she drank some of water* (genitive partitive)*".*

[56] See the Moschopulean glossa on Euripides' *Hecuba* 610 (ed. Dindorf): ὅμοιον τὸ ἔφαγε τοῦ ἄρτου καὶ ἔπιε τοῦ ὕδατος.

The manuscript Xs glosses the term θυηλῆς (gen sg) with the word αἵματος (gen sg.). The scholion also suggests that the construction of the verb στάζω with the genitive belongs to the Attic dialect. Here, again, Moschopulos takes as granted that the transmitted text, which offer the "rare[57]" construction of the verb στάζω with the genitive, faithfully mirrors the Attic usage. In his edition, Finglass (2007) accepts the correction θυηλαῖς provided by Bergk (Leipzig 1858: xlvii), because "the dative gives the expected construction with στάζω [...]. The genitive would have to denote the source of the dripping. [...] The plural is also the expected form of the noun [...], whose singular is rare [...]." The sense of the sentence would then be: "drips with sacrifice to Ares."

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## 2. Historical Sociolinguistic Hermeneutics

In the first part of this introduction, we have seen which data are sociolinguistically relevant, that is, the data that enable us to recreate the medieval speakers' insight into their language: It is in fact from this perspective, which entails using medieval linguistic categories, that we want to study the causes of variation and change in Medieval Greek.

In this second part, I would like to focus on one of the uses of sociolinguistic data, namely textual interpretation or poetics (see Jakobson 1960, and the title of this collective volume). Whenever we look at authors' communicative intentions and readers' interpretative expectations as causes of linguistic variation and change, we do HSL textual interpretation.

In this field, where we make a pragmatic use of HSL data, it is hard to precisely outline the borders between all disciplines and methodologies involved, namely HSL, historical socio pragmatics, and historical socio semiotics.[58] In other words, as soon as we use the data obtained

[57] LSJ s.v., I 2.c., defines "rare" the use of the genitive with στάζω, and provides this sole line of Sophocles as a parallel.

[58] Note that I refer to semiotics, because one can see every linguistic phenomenon as a "sign" carrying meaning. On the social semiotic approach to writing, see Lillis 2013: 155–161. Generally, on semiotics, see Courtés, Joseph – Greimas, Algidas Julien, *Sémiotique: Dictionnaire raisonné de la théorie du langage*. Paris 1979. For this second part, Culler's studies (1975; 1982; 2002²; 2010), Scholes (1982), and Eco (1979[1983]; 1984; 1992) have been highly inspiring. Essays and studies on literary theories have been collected in Newton: 1997².

from HSL analyses in order to interpret texts, we necessarily go beyond the limits of HSL and cross over into the fields of pragmatics, semiotics, structuralism,[59] and hermeneutics.[60] When I call such a way of interpreting texts, based on HSL data, "historical sociolinguistic hermeneutics (or poetics)," I put the stress on the fact that it is HSL that provides the data for pragmatic, semiotic, and overall, philological and hermeneutic studies.

### 2.1. Language and Communication

To communicate means to share meanings, concepts, thoughts; to transfer ideas from one person's mind to another's by the means of signs. Communicating telepathically, or understanding reality outright and holistically, and without the means of signs and the consequent processes of encoding and decoding, is impossible for human beings, at least in this world.[61]

The objects of our inquiries are texts written by an extinct[62] speech community, thus we can only focus on the written language as it appears in manuscripts and is recovered according to the historical-philological method, which also involves palaeography. Even though we may occasionally come across random and rare Byzantine accounts of how people used gestures, tone of voice, or facial expressions to communicate, we cannot consider these "signs," because their meanings are irremediably lost to us. Hence, as far as Medieval Greek is concerned, we will

[59] See Barthes 1967; Culler 1975: 55–109; Halliday 1978.

[60] Multidisciplinary approach in HSL studies must however be undertaken *cum grano salis*. Historical Sociolinguistics "must genuinely try to incorporate its neighboring disciplines, and not only look for shallow supplementary theories and evidence" (Bergs 2005: 12).

[61] As Thomas Aquinas says: "... intellectus humanus potest syllogizare, et in effectibus causas cognoscere, secundum quae discursus attenditur" (I, 58, a 3 arg. 2). "[...] discursus quendam motum nominat. Omnis autem motus est de uno priori in aliud posterius. Unde discursiva cognitio attenditur secundum quod ex aliquo prius noto devenitur in cognitionem alterius posterius noti, quod prius erat ignotum. Si autem in uno inspecto simul aliud insipiatur, sicut in speculo insicitur simul imago rei et res; non est propter hoc cognitio discursiva. Et hoc modo cognoscunt Angeli res in verbo" (Summa I, 58, 3 ad 3). This will be our way of knowing things in Heaven, according to Augustine: "in patria non erunt volubiles nostrae cogitationes, ab aliis in alia euntes atque redeuntes, sed omnem scientiam nostram simul uno conspectu videbimus" (Augustini, De Trin. 15,16; Thomas Aquinas, Summa, I, 58, a 2, resp.).

[62] However, they did not influence medieval author's language as, on the contrary, their medieval predecessors did; in other words, they do not constitute the "context of reception" of Byzantine texts. This is the sense according to which we can say here "extinct."

concentrate on linguistic and meta-linguistic[63] signs only. Byzantine authors could communicate by exploring the several potentialities of their language. They could in fact use several "signs" to communicate, such as levels of style, regionalisms, idiolects, sociolects, appearing in orthography, syntax, etc. Similarly, the switching from high-register Greek to low-register or vernacular Greek (i.e. code-/style-switching) and the mixing of literary genres can also be considered "signs." And even more: Byzantine authors had also at their disposal the meta-textual dimension of language: In Byzantine texts, quotations/allusions are "signs" as well, used to signify and convey messages. They suggest to readers several interpretative associations. Therefore, we can say, the texts that are the objects of our inquiry are constituted by a set of "signs" composed by an author with the deliberate aim to communicate. As we will see, such "authorial communicative intention" directly influences the way we interpret; it directly indicates the limits to our interpretations, because, if we consider texts to be means of communication, we also have to interpret them within their original communicative context. By "original communicative context," I mean the context which producer, receiver, and the process of encoding and decoding all belong to. In fact, "we do not read a text in isolation, but within a matrix of possibilities constituted by earlier texts, which functions as *language* to the *parole* of individual textual production: without this background, the text would be literally unreadable, as there would be no way in which it could have meaning.[64]"

I am now borrowing the terminology on acts of communication popularized by Roman Jakobson. In his studies, Jakobson distinguishes six elements present in any act of communication.[65] Adjusting this diagram to describe the reading of a literary text, we get something like this:

Author/Producer (context, text, medium,[66] codes) Reader/Receiver.

Jakobson's model not only indicates the actors of a communicative process, but also establishes under which conditions the communication happens. There must be an "author" and a "reader." Every "producer"

[63] For example, quotations, allusions, and non-semantic features of language, such as rhythm.

[64] Fowler 1997: 14.

[65] See Jakobson 1960: 353 (= 1987: 62–94, especially 66–71). See also Barthes 1967: 897–898 (= Newton 1997²: 94–98), and Culler 1975: chapters 3–5.

[66] The *medium* is the object of study of Greek palaeography.

always writes to an "(ideal-) reader," even if he were to write to himself. "Author" and "reader" must share the same system of cultural references, and the conventional rules governing the process of encoding and decoding. So, even though it commonly happens that a "producer" does not know who the "receiver" of his message will be,[67] any "producer" knows at least some of the characteristics of the "addressee", because he infers them from himself. In our case, the "archetypical or ideal reader" of Byzantine texts should match this profile: he knows Greek, shares with the author the same (literary) education, and also is informed about the political, religious, and ideological streams which characterized the author's life. These are all characteristics which constitute the "receiver's cultural competence.[68]" This concept indicates, I think, the limits to which we can push our interpretation:[69] every time we interpret a Byzantine text, we always have to verify whether the given interpretation was plausible to a Byzantine receiver.[70]

### 2.2. Historical Sociolinguistic Hermeneutics (or Poetics)

According to the definition of HSL, which we explained in the first part, languages cannot be studied, so to speak, in an antiseptic lab, instead, they must be analyzed within their social framework. Similarly, texts cannot be considered in isolation from their contexts, as they did not reach us after having been sealed in a bottle and thrown into the ocean (see Eco 1990: 7–9). Consequently, we can pursue neither *author-oriented criticism*

[67] It is enough here to remember that we also are to be counted among the "receivers" of Byzantine texts.

[68] Expression borrowed from Culler 1975: 113–130. See also Scholes 1982: 20.

[69] See Eco 1985, Jucker 1995 and 2000, Fitzmaurice – Taavitsainen 2007.

[70] A note on Jakobson's model. Literary texts – i.e. the objects of our research – are also acts of communication and hence Jakobson's model (Sender, Message, Addressee, in which the message is decoded the basis of a code shared by both the virtual pole of the chain) can be applied to these as well. However, this communication model does not describe the actual functioning of the communicative intercourses. "The existence of various codes and subcodes, the variety of sociocultural circumstances in which a message is emitted (where the codes of the addressee can be different from those of the sender), and the rate of initiative displayed by the addressee in making presuppositions and abductions – all result in making a message (insofar as it is received and transformed into the *content* of an *expression*) an empty form to which various possible senses can be attributed. In addition, what one calls 'message' is usually a *text*, that is, a network of different messages depending on different codes and working at different levels of signification" (Eco 1979[1983]: 5). Discussions on Jakobson's model concerning the study of Medieval Greek literature should be probably kept for another article. For the present introduction, it suffices to have remembered Eco's arguments.

nor *reader-oriented criticism*. The former privileges the role of a producer in the act of communication, and aims to recover the authorial intention as the only legitimate way of interpreting messages. This view assumes that every producer/author writes with a deliberate intention to communicate a particular message. The latter sort of criticism, in turn, considers texts as open works, for they can be viewed as "generators of interpretations"; any of which is legitimate as far as it is economic and coherent *in se*. Reader-oriented criticism also states – paraphrasing Eco's *Postille a "Il nome della rosa"* – that it would be better if an author dies immediately after having completed his work and, if possible, even without titling his text, for titles influence and limit the free interpretation of the reader.[71] If we look at Nikephoros Gregoras' *Historia Romana*, for example: How could we interpret his text, without considering his own words on it (see Ep. 114 Leone, ll. 48sqq.)? Thus, historical sociolinguistic criticism mediates, so to speak, between author-oriented criticism and reader-oriented criticism, because it requires that the interpreter always keep in mind both the Model Reader, shaped by the text itself, and the (original) readers' cultural competencies, on which the author counted for the transmission of his message and which influenced him during the generative process of his text.

Such mediation takes into account the fact that the HSL interpretation of a literary text written in Medieval Greek firstly begins with, on the one hand, a linguistic analysis, which has to be undertaken according to contemporaneous linguistic categories (see part 1 above). This provides us – as far as possible – with the medieval users' insight into the "Linear text manifestation (Eco).[72]" In this regard, I stressed the importance of studies on textbooks. As long as they and their impact are definable in time and space, these sources can indicate to us the "literary competencies" of the native speakers in a certain area, during a defined period. These competencies encompass the author's and his public's roles of generator and interpreter respectively. On the other hand, the interpretation of a literary text written in Medieval Greek takes into account all possible factors, which co-occurred in generating the text such as it is. In particular, it looks at the author's intention (or message), at the readers' "horizon of expectations (Jauss)", and at the context of production and reception.

[71] However, probably more than other sources, Byzantine texts impede "reader-oriented criticism", because they are all written within codified, shared, and acknowledged stylistic rules, which vary according to the literary genre. In addition, from time to time, some authors let their own opinion on their work be known.

[72] Eco 1979(1983): 15 "I call linear text manifestation the text such as it appears verbally with its lexematic surface."

The relationship between author and audience is mainly important for two reasons: firstly because the author takes into account his audience's literary competence when writing a text. As a result, texts are impressions, so to speak, of their intended audiences. Secondly, because the readers' interpretation is part of the generative process of texts. However, as is predictable, it is the "context of production and reception" that is problematic: According to a well-known formula, in fact, the "meaning is context-bound", but "the context is boundless", because "the description of contexts fails to exhaust contextual possibilities" (see Culler 1982: 128). When I earlier mentioned the analysis of the "context", I had in mind the so-called "hermeneutics of recovery (Schleiermacher and Dilthey)", according to which one tries to understand *how* then-current users approached their texts. In order to answer this question, we resort to studies on palaeography, book culture, and philology, particularly those on the circulation of texts (see below, note 82). Nonetheless, the so-called "hermeneutics of suspicion (Ricœur)" also plays an important role in description of contexts, because it stresses that texts are impressions of the socio-cultural profiles of their authors and audiences, as well as they are impressions of the zeitgeist, which inspired and affected their composition and final form. On the "context", see below, as well as Odorico's and Manolova's papers.

In contemporary society, where interdisciplinary research and utilitarianism are key words, it is worth remembering that HSL hermeneutics of Medieval Greek texts, which requires collaborative research between scholars and methodological exchanges among linguists also working on languages other than Greek, does not analyze and interpret ancient texts onanistically. "For one reason we study the texts of wise men of the past and do not refuse to converse with the dead. What is this reason? To have a sharp mind, apt to generate thoughts, and to have a versatile tongue, apt to express what we think <to our contemporaries>.[73]"

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Let me conclude by giving a few examples.

According to the above, every text can be seen as "a syntactic-semantico-pragmatic device whose foreseen interpretation is part of its genera-

[73] Christophoros Zortros' *A Paraenesis to his own son*, quoted from Mazzucchi 2004: 417.

tive process" (see Eco 1979[1983]: 11; 3–15). This leads us to consider "an 'ideal' text as a system of nodes or joints" and to try "to establish at which of them the cooperation of the Model Reader is expected and elicited" by the author (see Eco 1979[1983]: 11–40; 200–256).

Let us take as an example John Tzetzes' *Letter* 1, 1,5–2,1 (ed. Leone 1972).

> Πυνθάνομαι ὡς παρὰ σοί τινες *ἐπιφυλλίδες* τε καὶ *στωμύλματα* γλῶτταν ἀχάλινον καθ' ἡμῶν κεκινήκεσαν καὶ τὰ ἡμέτερα ὡς οἷόν τε ἦν αὐτοῖς διασέσυρται. εἰ μὲν οὖν *βεκεσέληνοί* τινες εἶεν καὶ *βλιτομάμμαντες*, φρονοῦντες ὅσα *Μελιτίδης* τε καὶ *Μαμμάκυθος*, καὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν ὑπεραίρειν δοκοῦσι τῷ καθαίρειν τὰ ἀλλότρια, οἰκτου μᾶλλον καὶ οὐκ ὀργῆς εἰσιν ἄξιοι, ὅτι μεμήνασιν· αὐτοὶ ἑαυτοὺς ἐπαινείτωσαν, ταῖς ἑαυτῶν σκιαῖς προσλαλείτωσαν, καθάπερ καὶ ἡ ὁμόφρων τούτοις *Μακκὼ* τῷ ἑαυτῆς κατόπτρῳ προσδιελέγετο, λαλείτωσαν καθ' ἡμῶν ὅσα βούλοιντο, ἀκούσονται γὰρ παρ' ἡμῶν οὐδὲ *γρῦ*.
>
> I found out that some *epiphillídes* and *stomýlmata* have moved their uninhibited tongues against me in your presence, and have defamed me in the fullest measure. Now, if they were *bekesélenoi* and *blitomámmantes*, who think as *Melitídes* and *Mammakythos* and believe that they can elevate themselves by destroying other people, then they deserve compassion rather than anger, because they are insane. May they commend themselves! May they talk to their own shadows, as their fellow *Makkó* talked to her mirror! May they say about us anything they want! They will never hear even a *grý* from our side.

Tzetzes inserts two exegetical notes, namely ὅτι μεμήνασιν and αὐτοὶ … ταῖς ἑαυταῖς σκιαῖς προσλαλείτωσαν καθάπερ καὶ ἡ … Μακκὼ τῷ ἑαυτῆς κατόπτρῳ προσδιελέγετο, which explain the meaning of e*piphillídes*, *stomýlmata*, *bekesélenoi*, *blitomámmantes*, *Melitídes* and *Mammakythos* and of *Makkó* respectively. These words designate foolish and stupid people.

However, the interpreter of this letter is still expected and elicited to cooperate in the construction of the sense. By writing e*piphillídes* and *stomýlmata*, *bekesélenoi*, *blitomámmantes*, *Melitídes* and *Mammakythos*, Tzetzes wanted to call to his readers' minds the passages from Aristophanes' *Frogs* 92, *Clouds* 398, *Clouds* 1001, *Frogs* 990, *Frogs* 991, from which these words are respectively taken. These words are a sort of semantic gate designed with the aim of generating a chain of associations in the reader's mind.

In order to *interpret* Tzetzes' text, in fact, another step needs to be taken. The Model Reader does not only have to spot these allusions to

Aristophanes' comedies, but also has to provide himself with the cultural competencies of Tzetzes' contemporary readers; that is to say, to recover the same framework of cultural references which Tzetzes shared with his readers.

This difficult task can be accomplished by looking at the comments on Aristophanes, written by Tzetzes, and also – this is a fortunate case – at his *Chiliades* or *Stories*, where Tzetzes explained the "stories" behind the quotations and allusions in his Letters. These additional readings provide the readers with the necessary cultural competencies to better enjoy the hidden and deeper senses of this text. To sum up: such a further hermeneutic step, as we have seen, not only requires that the reader recognizes allusions to other texts, but also that these allusions generate a certain chain reaction of meta-textual associations in the reader's mind that begins the process of interpretation.

Certainly, Tzetzes' text could be interpreted without considering his framework of cultural references, as if we did not know when, by whom and to whom it was written, or if we assumed that Tzetzes did not require his readers to grasp any intertextual allusion, and that these allusions were not meant to play any role in the process of giving the text a meaning. In this hypothetical scenario, our interpretation should then resort to the interactions between our knowledge and the knowledge we impute to the unknown author. The text itself would be the ultimate *ratio* to our exegesis and we would not be speculating about the author's intention but about the text's intention, or about the intention of that Model Author that we are able to recognize in terms of textual strategy. (see Eco 1992: 69)

One last example. Was the Herodotean allusion "ὁ Ἀθηναῖος Πεισίστρατος" (Gregoras Ep. 57,53) ambiguous to a Byzantine audience?

In Gregoras' letter, Kantakuzenos is compared to Pisistratus with, apparently, an honorific intent.[74] Pisistratus was, as antonomasia, the guardian of culture, because he saved Homer from destruction. This positive connotation of the expression "ὁ Ἀθηναῖος Πεισίστρατος", was certainly known to Gregoras' audience, as it is attested to other Byzantine texts.[75]

[74] Ep. 57,53 (Leone 1982) to John Kantakuzenos, before 1341: πάλαι γε μὴν ὁ Ἀθηναῖος Πεισίστρατος μέγαν ἐκαρποῦτο τὸν ἔπαινον, ὅτι τὰς Ὁμηρικὰς ῥαψῳδίας σποράδας ἐμφερομένας παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησι, χρήμασι πλείστοις ξυνειλοχὼς ἐδεδώκει τῷ χρόνῳ... (See Hdt. I, 59, 1–30).

[75] E.g. Vitae Homeri, ed. Allen, Vita Quinta 248,24 sqq.; Suda s.v. Ὅμηρος 526,2sqq. Adler.

Nevertheless, one can reasonably ask whether Gregoras uses this expression referring to Kantakuzenos as a (cautious) critique. As we learn from the other two occurrences of this expression in Gregoras' writings (HR II 740, where he describes how Apokaukos took power in Thessaloniki,[76] and III 484[77]), the figure of Pisistratus is then presented as a tyrant, i.e. in a negative connotation. Additionally, "ὁ Ἀθηναῖος Πεισίστρατος" was a very familiar expression to the Byzantine audience of the Palaeologan era. In fact, Herodotus and his *Historiae* have been objects of Palaeologan studies.[78] Also *sententiae*, excerpted from his *Historiae*, may well have found a place in anthologies and *gnomologia,*[79] and also quoted in homilies or public speeches. Moreover, a Byzantine reader could have come across this Herodotean allusion also by reading other texts, such as Gregoras (*HR*, 740; III, 484), Libanios (Decl. 12, 2, 51), and Aelios Aristides (119,19). A scholion to Aelios Aristides' Oration 119 notes the negative connotation, which characterizes the figure of Pisistratus.[80] This example shows that asking whether an interpretation of a given quotation or allusion was accessible to the Byzantines entails, firstly, verifying that the Byzantines could isolate that expression and recognize it as a carrier of meaning. Subsequently, it entails looking for Byzantine interpretations of the examined expression. As a side note: The *apparatus fontium* accompanying our critical editions of Byzantine

[76] Historia Romana II, 740: Ἐπεὶ δ' ὁ ἐκ τῆς προτέρας συζύγου πρῶτος Ἀποκαύκου υἱὸς (Ioannes PLP 1187) ἐπίτροπος ἦν τηνικαῦτα Θεσσαλονίκης καὶ τὸν τοῦ πατρὸς φόνον ἀκήκοε, τὴν γνώμην εὐθὺς ἐς Καντακουζηνὸν μεταθεῖναι κέκρικε δεῖν, καὶ ἅμα συμφέρειν εἰς ἔργον αὐτῷ τὰ τῆς γνώμης προενεγκεῖν. ὅθεν καὶ τρόπον λοιπὸν ἐζήτει, δι' οὗ Θεσσαλονίκην ἂν αὐτῷ παραδοίη. προσεταιρισάμενος οὖν ὁπόσον ἔκκριτον ἦν τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης τὸν Ἀθηναῖον μιμεῖται Πεισίστρατον καὶ τὴν Θεσσαλονικέων χειροῦται ἀκρόπολιν, ἵν' ἐκεῖθεν ὡς ἐξ ὁρμητηρίου τῆς κεφαλῆς κατατρέχων καὶ τὸ πᾶν τῆς πόλεως ἐκ τοῦ ῥᾳστου σῶμα κατάσχῃ.

[77] Historia Romana III, 484: ἐντεῦθεν καὶ γὰρ ὡς ἐκ ῥίζης τινὸς πάλαι μὲν Εὐσεβίῳ τῷ τῶν εἰκονομάχων ἐκείνῳ προέδρῳ, νῦν δὲ Παλαμᾷ συνερρύηκε, τῆς ὁμοίας κακίας ἠργμένῳ, μακρᾶς τῆς πλάνης τὰς τῶν ἁπλουστέρων ἐμπεπληκέναι ἀκοάς, ..., καθάπερ τὴν Ἀθηναίων ἀκρόπολιν πάλαι Πεισίστρατος, τῶν λεγομένων αὐτόνομος γίνεται πρύτανις ...

[78] See for instance *De Iade* (*Περὶ Ἰάδος, ed.* Rosén 1987: lxviii–lxxxviii) by Manuel Moschopulos, that is the description of the Ionic dialect according to the text of Herodotus. See Cengarle 1970.

[79] See Cuomo 2016: L.

[80] Scholia in Ael. Aristidem (119,19) παρὸν αὐτῷ μᾶλλον παντὸς Πεισιστράτου] οὗτος Πεισίστρατος πρῶτος ἐτυράννησε τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ὥς φησιν Ἡρόδοτος ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ. διὸ καὶ παρὰ πάντων τῶν τυράννων ἐνομίσθη χαλεπώτερος. δεινῶς οὖν ὁ Ἀριστείδης πάντα τύραννον χαλεπὸν Πεισίστρατον ἐκάλεσεν, ὡς καὶ Μειδίας ὁ ῥήτωρ πάντα πλούσιον φοβερὸν ὀνομάζει, παντὸς οὖν Πεισιστράτου λέγειν, ἀντὶ τοῦ παντὸς τυράννου. BD. etc. (ed. Dindorf, W. *Aristides*. vol. 3. Leipzig 1829 [repr. Hildesheim 1964])

texts provide us with dangerous information. To a Byzantine reader it was more important to know *why* an author quoted, or alluded to, another text and *the meaning* of the quotation/allusion in question, rather than *where exactly a quotation/allusion comes from*.

In other words: when we approach a (Byzantine) text, and think that we have spotted a quotation or allusion, and believe that we can assign a pragmatic function to it, then we also have to take into account the medium which made the communication possible, in our case, the manuscripts, their circulation, their availability, how they were used (did they have scholia? Were they read in private or used for public, commented, lectures?). Thus, we cannot study quotations or allusions and their pragmatic function without considering the "context of production and reception", in which book culture played an essential role. Knowing from the *apparatus fontium* that Gregoras may have read Herodotus is not enough for us:[81] we should also know how Herodotus (and florilegia transmitting Herodotean *excerpta*) circulated, and whether manuscripts containing these texts also provided information (such as glossae and scholia), which may reveal how transmitted texts were interpreted by the Byzantines. On this topic, see the papers by Stefano Valente, Daniele Bianconi, and Inmaculada Pérez-Martín in this volume.

To sum up, the HSL approach to textual interpretation entails bringing the moment of interpretation into the past and making it coincide with the moment in which a text was written by an author for his audience(s). This means that we have to recover and use the very Byzantine hermeneutical tools and look at a) how the Byzantines were taught Medieval Greek; b) how they considered their own language; c) Byzantine book culture; d) Byzantine aesthetics and hermeneutics. Hence, regarding linguistics, we have to use the Byzantine linguistic categories for defining what "Attic" and what "Koine" was (see below Horrocks' paper). Similarly, concerning the study of the pragmatic function of quotations or allusions, we always have to address the following questions: 1) What about the circulation of text X, which we have spotted in text Y? (The Byzantines did not use electronic databases...) 2) Can we recover Byzan-

[81] Studies on rhetoric also stress on this point, which is particularly important for HSL hermeneutics. For example, see Conte 1989: 29: "Intertextuality, far from being a matter of merely recognizing the ways in which specific texts echo each other, defines the condition of literary readability ... the sense and structure of a work can be grasped only with reference to other models hewn from a long series of texts of which they are, in some way, the variant form." Quoted from Fowler 1997 (14), to which I refer for further discussions.

tine interpretations of the text X, mentioned before, e.g. by looking for scholia, and glossae?

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In conclusion: This collective volume considers HSL as a way of doing textual interpretation and pragmatics. This mirrors current debates within the discipline, as historical linguistics can be seen as the "launching pad of historical pragmatics," (Fitzmaurice – Taavitsainen 2007: 13) and historical pragmatics may be defined as the "study of historical data from a pragmatic perspective." (Jucker 2000: 90) Therefore, our vision of HSL deals with any aspect of philological and linguistic analysis (such as morphology, syntax, lexicography, and meta-textuality), and also with pragmatics. Note that I refer to *pragmatics* in the broadest understanding of the term, which considers an act of communication to be essentially dependent on the producer, the receiver, *as well as* linguistic and extra-linguistic contexts.[82]

HSL can focus on any carefully and coherently defined historical period. It studies and describes the social role played by a language in a certain speech community. It concentrates on hermeneutical issues (i.e. on poetics). It links *linguistic* approaches – because it uses the language and its variants according to linguistic principles – with a) *sociological* approaches, for it describes how a society shaped and was shaped by its own language; and b) *historical* approaches, as it takes into account historically situated social dynamics, political events, and cultural currents as factors of linguistic change.

This volume is divided into two distinct parts. In the first, my and Bentein's papers aim to offer an overview on the discipline and examples of applied HSL. Valente's, Bianconi's, and Pérez-Martín's papers will then show how to study the "context of production and reception" of Byzantine texts. These are followed by Horrocks' study on some features of Atticized Medieval Greek. In the second part, the contributions by

[82] See Bar-Hillel 1970: 271 and the collective volumes edited by Jucker 1995 and Fitzmaurice – Taavitsainen 2007 respectively. On "linguistic and extra-linguistic contexts" see Eco 1979 (2010[11]): 233, n. 2 and Eco 1984: 68–72; Cipolla 1998: 465. Bar-Hillel (1970: 270–271, quoted from Eco 1984: 68) defines pragmatics as "lo studio della dipendenza essenziale della comunicazione, nel linguaggio naturale, dal parlante e dall'ascoltatore, dal contesto linguistico e dal contesto extra-linguistico; [...] e dalla disponibilità delle conoscenze di fondo, della prontezza nell'ottenere questa conoscenza di fondo, e della buona volontà dei partecipanti nell'atto comunicativo". See above § 2.2.

Telelis, Odorico, and Manolova focus on the context of reception of the texts by Georgios Pachymeres, Theodoros Pediasimos, and Nikephoros Gregoras respectively. While mentioning the names of the contributors to this volume, I also want to thank them for believing in this project and their collaborative work.

Klaas Bentein

# Towards a Socio-Historical Analysis of Ancient Greek?

## *Some Problems and Prospects*

### 1. Introduction: Sociolinguistics and Socio-Historical Linguistics

Recent findings in sociolinguistics, the work of William Labov (e.g. 1994) in particular, have greatly enhanced our understanding of both the mechanisms of linguistic change, and the nature of language itself. One of the key linguistic findings concerns *variation*: scholars have come to realize that from a synchronic point of view variation is ubiquitous and reflects change in progress. The work of Labov and others has also shed new light on the social mechanisms of language change. Among others, it has been shown that the spread of a given variant happens in an orderly way, not only within language itself, but also within the speech community.

Up until now, however, sociolinguistic methods and techniques have been applied predominantly to change what is ongoing in the spoken language, which can be very accurately observed, described and analyzed. Its application to written documents remains disputed and has been given relatively little attention, perhaps because Labov himself has shown a negative attitude to historical linguistics, which he characterizes as "the art of making the best use of bad data" (Labov 1994: 11). One of the scholars to have opposed this view is Romaine 1982, who in her pioneering work on *socio-historical* linguistics, observes that "variation also occurs in written language in, one can assume, a patterned rather than a random way" (Romaine 1982: 13). Romaine even turns the tables in explicitly asking "whether theories which cannot handle all the uses/forms in which language may manifest itself in a given speech community over time are actually acceptable" (1982: 18), and arguing that a sociolinguistic theory which cannot handle written language is very restricted in scope and application and cannot claim to be a theory of "language" (Romaine 1982: 122).

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When it comes to Ancient, especially, Post-classical and Byzantine Greek, the need of taking into account both text and (social) context has become generally accepted. In the introduction to his *Greek: A history of the language and its speakers*, for example, Horrocks 2010²: 4 stresses the need to "look at the Greek language in all its varieties, and in the context of the changing social and historical circumstances of its speakers/writers". This being said, the question remains exactly how we can take into account social context. The aim of this contribution is twofold: first, I intend to give a critical discussion of some modern linguistic approaches that can be helpful for students of Ancient Greek. Second, I wish to briefly illustrate one of these theoretical frameworks with findings from my most recent research project on the language of Roman and Byzantine papyri (I–VIII AD).

### 1.1. Individual Sociolinguistic Variables

The first type of approach which I would like to introduce is the one which focuses on individual social variables such as gender, age, social class, education, etc. This is the classic, Labovian type of approach, which has been highly influential in the past decades (see e.g. Labov 1994).

In the field of Ancient Greek linguistics too, some attention has been paid to the relationship between individual sociolinguistic variables and language. Particularly when it comes to the notion of "dialect", there is a very extensive bibliography. Gender is another sociolinguistic variable which has received some attention, particularly with regard to the Classical period. Recent studies by Sommerstein 1995 and Willi 2003, chapter 6, for example, give a catalogue of gender-specific features in comedy. These are syntactic, pragmatic and lexical in nature, rather than phonological. Some examples are: the use of ὅπως (rather than ἵνα); βούλει/βούλεσθε with the subjunctive; the ethic dative; possessive μου and σου (rather than ἐμός/σός); the avoidance of obscene language; the use of certain forms of address, etc.

This type of approach has as its major advantage the specificity with which one is working: very specific social variables are investigated. Scholars working within this tradition have made some very interesting observations, not only within but also across individual languages (e.g. the observation that women tend to use less non-standardised features than men; see e.g. Willi 2003: 157–158). The major disadvantage, however, is that it is unclear how variables such as gender relate to other socio-linguistic variables (in other words, there is no integrated sociolinguistic framework).

### 1.2. Accommodation Theory

The notion of "(linguistic) accommodation" refers to the fact that a speaker can adapt the manner in which he/she speaks, depending on his/her attitude towards the addressee. In the 1970s, Howard Giles developed speech accommodation theory in order to explain why and how speakers accommodate their speech (see e.g. Giles 1980). Two key concepts in this regard are "convergence" and "divergence": *convergence* refers to a process whereby the speaker modifies his or her speech to resemble more closely the addressee's speech, while *divergence* refers to a process whereby the speaker moves in the opposite direction. The psychological motivations behind these processes are relatively obvious: convergence signals a speaker's solidarity, whereas divergence signals a speaker's social difference and distance.

Accommodation theory is relatively unknown in Ancient Greek linguistics. It was briefly discussed by Consani 2014 in a contribution to the *Encyclopedia of Ancient Greek Language and Linguistics*. Consani provides the following example of accommodation: in an archaic dedication from the Peloponnese, two different dialects, Arcadian and Laconian, which belong to two different dialect groups, are combined. Consani suggests that the author of the dedication, who may have been a powerful person from the Laconian society, chose Arcadian forms "in order to testify to his political power in a period during which Sparta was interacting with some Arcadian cities". Accommodation theory was also briefly referred to by Malina 1994 in his essay on the nature of John's Christian group.

Accommodation theory constitutes a well-elaborated theory of the processes of linguistic convergence and divergence, and the psychological motivations behind these processes. Its main disadvantage, however, is that it is mainly oriented towards living speech, in particular dialogues. Moreover, the theory has been criticised because, from a linguistic point of view, it lacks sophistication and precision, while from a social point of view the theory has become increasingly complex.

### 1.3. Politeness Theory

The next approach is centered around the notion of "politeness". According to one influential view, that of Brown – Levinson 1987, politeness consists in respecting other people's feelings, and attending to their so-called "face" needs. Brown – Levinson (1987) distinguish two major "politeness" strategies, that is, "positive politeness strategies", and "nega-

tive politeness strategies", which correspond to two types of "face", that is, "positive face" and "negative face". Positive politeness strategies "emphasize closeness between speaker and hearer by confirming or establishing common ground" (e.g. addressing somebody with "pal"), whereas negative politeness strategies, "suggest distance by accentuating the hearer's right to territorial claims and freedom from imposition" (e.g. addressing somebody with "Sir") (Kasper 1998: 678). Brown – Levinson 1987 postulate a positive correlation between the weight of certain contextual factors and politeness investment. These contextual variables are, (i) social distance between speaker and hearer; (ii) their relative power; and (iii) the magnitude of the issue that gives rise to the need for politeness (Dickey 2012: 314).

The notion of politeness has been applied to Ancient Greek by a number of scholars, including Lloyd 2006 and Poccetti 2014 (see also Dickey 2012 for Latin). Lloyd 2006 gives some examples of positive and negative politeness strategies in Sophocles, e.g. the use of friendship terms such as φίλε, the second person optative with ἄν rather than the imperative, the use of the third person singular rather than the second, etc.

Politeness theory, especially Brown – Levinson's 1987 framework, has been widely applied as a sociolinguistic model. As Dickey 2012 notes, it offers a simple template that can be used to describe politeness phenomena in any language. Moreover, Brown & Levinson's framework has predictive power: "any utterance that can be identified as positively or negatively polite can tell a researcher something about the relationship of the speaker to the addressee and/or about the weighting of the request ... in their culture" (Dickey 2012: 314). However, it has the disadvantage that it concentrates exclusively on politeness and politeness-related social variables such as social distance and social power. Each of these social variables represents a composite construct, which needs to be further elaborated. Moreover, there are also some serious theoretical concerns. Among others, Brown – Levinson assume that their theory has universal validity, but that seems to presuppose that cultures across the globe have identical notions of "self" or "face", which does not seem to be true. The relationship between "face" and "politeness" has also been criticised: the view that face motivates politeness is a very strong assumption, which does not seem to hold up against cross-cultural evidence. The impact of contextual variables may also vary across cultures. For example, the subvariable "age" may be attributed more importance in Asia than in Europe.

### 1.4. Audience Design

The fourth theoretical approach which I introduce here is called "audience design". This theory was conceived by Alan Bell in the 1980s (see e.g. Bell 1997, 2001). According to this model, speakers adjust their speech towards that of their audience in order to express solidarity, or away from their audience's speech in order to express distance. As may be clear, there are some parallels with the earlier-mentioned accomodation theory, although it should be emphasised that audience design arose from socio-linguistics, rather than social psychology. With audience design, even greater emphasis is put on the role of the audience. Bell focuses on different audience features, such as gender, ehtnicity, age, class, origins, etc., and distinguishes between different types of audiences. Bell 2001: 146 also includes "stylistic" variation according to topic or setting, which, he argues, can be explained by the fact that different topics/settings are associated with typical audience members (for example, we talk about education in a manner that echoes how we talk to a teacher; Bell 1997: 247). Interestingly, Bell not only takes into account "responsive", but also "initiative" style shifts, which initiate a change in the situation (that is, they redefine the nature of the interaction, e.g. a student talking in an informal way at an exam to make the situation less formal).

To the best of my knowledge, no scholar of Ancient Greek has applied Bell's theory of audience design, although it is mentioned occasionally in linguistic studies.

The advantages and disadvantages of Bell's model are similar to those mentioned for accommodation theory. Bell provides a well-elaborated, falsifiable framework, which "applies to all codes and repertoires within a speech community" (Bell 2001: 145), and which allows for detailed linguistic analysis. Bell's approach allows one to focus on the individual, while maintaining a worthwhile level of generalisation. However, the theory is mainly oriented towards conversation, and focuses especially on the speaker's audience, rather than the speaker himself.

### 1.5. Register Theory

The final theoretical framework which I discuss here is that which is centered around the notion of "register". One approach which I will further elaborate on in the second part of this article, that is, the *Systemic Functional* approach, defines register as "a language variety associated with a particular situation of use". Halliday 1978 and Hasan 1995 recognise three main vectors of context, which are called "field" (what the lan-

guage is being used to talk about), "tenor" (the interactants and their relationships) and "mode" (the role language is playing in the interaction).

There have been more than a few applications of the notion "register" to Ancient Greek, especially when it comes to Post-classical and Byzantine Greek (see further Bentein 2013, with references). For example, Porter 1989: 152–153 distinguishes four tenor-oriented registers, which he calls "vulgar", "non-literary", "literary" and "atticistic". Scholars of Classical Greek typically focus on field-oriented registers. López-Eire 2004: 116, for example, distinguishes between the registers of *scientists*, *philosophers*, *politicians*, etc. in Aristophanes' plays.

The major advantage of working with this theory is that we can rely on an overarching theoretical framework (see esp. Hasan 2009). Linguistically too, one is invited to pay attention to larger patterns of co-occurrence. In practice, the disadvantage is that scholars simply posit different types of register, for example, a "low", "middle" and "high" register, without clearly defining the social factors behind these registers, as well as the linguistic features that characterise them. One exception in the latter regard is Horrocks (2007: 630–631), who clearly defines three "levels of writing" for the "later Roman imperial period", and attributes several typical linguistic features to each of these.

## 2. Particle-usage in Roman and Byzantine Documentary Papyri

In the first part of this article, I have outlined a number of approaches which may be useful for the sociolinguistic analysis of Ancient Greek texts. In the second part, I would like to briefly illustrate these theoretical considerations with some findings from my most recent, post-doctoral research project, which involves a *Systemic Functional* approach towards the language of Roman and Byzantine documentary papyri. In what follows, I focus specifically on the use of particles in letters and petitions (for further details on the corpus, see Bentein 2015).

### 2.1. Operationalisation of the Systemic Functional Framework

As mentioned, the *Systemic Functional* framework distinguishes between three main "vectors of context", called field, mode, and tenor. For our present purposes, it will be useful to pay particular attention to the "tenor" vector, as the mode of discourse remains stable, and the field of discourse is known to have relatively little influence on grammatical differences.

Systemic Functional linguists subdivide the tenor vector into three dimensions, that is, (i) "agentive role", (ii) "social status", and (iii) "social distance". In what follows, I discuss how each of these three subvectors can be operationalised specifically with regard to the documentary papyri.

*Agentive role* is relatively straightforward: various agentive roles can be discerned in documentary papyri. For example, a letter can be written by a mother to her son, by a brother to his sister, by a friend to a friend, by a citizen to an official, etc. The disadvantage of working with such very specific agentive roles, however, is that (i) it is not always possible to clearly determine them, and (ii) that we neglect the fact that some of these agentive roles are related. Therefore, it is useful to work with more generic agentive roles or "macro-roles". Following Stowers 1986: 27, three of these can be discerned, that is, (i) family-relations; (ii) relations between equals; (iii) hierarchical relations.

*Social status* is a complex notion. The Romans themselves focused heavily on ethnicity, by dividing the population into three strata: (i) holders of Roman citizenship; (ii) citizens of the Greek cities of Egypt; (iii) Egyptians. As Mairs 2013 notes, however, it is important for us modern scholars not to focus exclusively on ethnicity when approaching identity. Moreover, for our present purposes this threefold classification has the disadvantage that (i) it is far from easy to know to which class a given individual belonged, and (ii) that it was only valid for a certain period of time. It is therefore worth concentrating on other social aspects, such as professional occupation. A number of "occupational groups" can be distinguished in this regard, such as, (i) actors and athletes; (ii) craftsmen and tradesmen; (iii) officials; (iv) landowners/tenants; (v) liberal professions (e.g. managers, doctors, lawyers); (vi) other service workers (e.g. slaves, prostitutes); (vii) military; (viii) priests/clergy. Other factors that are worth taking into account are *gender*, *age*, *education* (literacy) and *location*.

In order to operationalise *social distance*, I concentrate on the difference between formal and informal documents. While petitions are formal, letters can be formal or less formal. Three main types of letters are typically distinguished: "private" letters, "business" letters, and "official" letters. Only the last of these three types is more formal.

### 2.2. Particle-usage in Greek Documentary Papyri (I–VIII AD)[1]

To briefly illustrate the *Systemic Functional* framework, I have analysed a corpus of 736 letters and 230 petitions for particle-usage. To be more

[1] The findings presented in this section are based on Bentein 2015.

specific, I have investigated four groups of particles in these texts, that is, (i) the focus particles γε and γοῦν, (ii) the co-ordinating particles τε (... καί) and μέν ... δέ; (iii) the discourse-connecting particles τοίνυν, τοιγαροῦν, μέντοι, and καίτοι; (iv) the modal particles ἄρα, δή, μήν.

In terms of *social status*, the texts in which the particles occur have a similar profile: the sender and especially addressees of these documents typically belong to the upper social classes: they are high-ranking officials, landowners, military officers, priests, etc. Exceptionally, the particles that have been investigated are used by the lower occupational classes, as in (1):

(1) συνεβίω[σα] Δημ[η]τροῦτι Ἡρακλε\ί/δου, κα[ὶ ἐ]γὼ μὲν οὖν ἐπεχορήγησα αὐτῇ τὰ ἐξῆς καὶ ὑπὲρ δύναμιν. ἡ δὲ ἀλλότρια φρονήσασα τῆς κοινῆς συμβιώ[σεως] κατὰ πέρ[α]ς ἐξῆ[λθε] καὶ ἀπηνέκαντο τὰ ἡμέτερα ὧν τὸ καθ' ἓν ὑπόκειται. (P.Oxy.2.282, ll. 4–14; 29–37 AD)

> "I married Demetrous, daughter of Heraclides, and I for my part provided for my wife in a manner that exceeded my resources. But she became dissatisfied with our union, and finally left the house carrying off property belonging to me, a list of which is added below." [tr. Grenfell & Hunt]

In this petition to the *strategus*, Tryphon the weaver complains that his wife has left him, carrying off various items belonging to him. By using μέν ... δέ, Tryphon contrasts himself with his wife: while he provided everything for his wife, she nevertheless became dissatisfied.

When it comes to *social distance*, that is, level of formality, there are some interesting differences between the particles: the focus particles γε and γοῦν, for example, primarily occur in informal contexts. The same is true for the discourse-connecting particles μέντοι and καίτοι. Other particles, however, almost always occur in formal contexts: τοίνυν, for example, is almost exclusively found in petitions, as in (2), a petition from three inhabitants of the village of Theadelpheia to the prefect:

(2) ἀξιοῦμεν **τοίνυν** τὴν σὴν ἀνδρίαν εὐεργε[τῆσαι ἡ]μᾶς κα[τ]ὰ τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὰς κελεύσις, ἡγεμών, [σοῦ καὶ] ἄ[λ]λων ἀρχόντων, τὰς ἀσθενεστέρας κώμα[ς] [ταῖς εὐ]ποθμ[ο]ύσαις κώμαις συνάπτεσθαι, καὶ ἡμᾶς [κοινωνη] θῆναι τοὺς μερισμοὺς τῇ εὐποθμουση κώμ[η] [τοῦ πεδί]ου, λέγομεν τῇ Ἑρμουπόλει, ᾗ καὶ ἔτι πρότ[ε][ρον . . . . ] τοῖς δεκαπρώτοις ἐπενεμήθημ[ε]ν αὐτ[ῇ] (P.Sakaon.42, ll. 13–19; *c.* 323 AD)

> "We ask, therefore, that your Worthiness show his beneficence and that, in accordance with the laws and the edicts, my lord, both of

> yourself and of other governors, which provide that the poorer villages be attached to the richer ones, we too share our imposts with the rich village of the plain, and we mean Hermoupolis, to which even in the past we had been allotted … the dekaprotoi." [tr. Parassoglou]

The same is true for the modal particles ἄρα, δή, and μήν, which predominantly occur in official letters and petitions. The co-ordinating particles have a more mixed profile: τε (… καί) and especially μέν … δέ can be found relatively often in informal letters, as for example in (3):

> (3) τρίτην ταύτην ἐπιστολὴν ἔγρ̣α̣ψ[α]. . . [ ] ̣τ[ῷ] ̣ἐ̣μῷ ἀγαθῷ κ[α] ὶ θεοφυλάκτῳ δεσπό(τῃ) καὶ ἐξ ὧν μίαν † μὲν διὰ τοῦ σταβλίτου τοῦ ἀ̣π̣οφέροντος αὐτῇ τὰ δίδυφα, δευτέραν δ̣ὲ̣ ὁμοίως μετὰ Ἄππα Κύρου τοῦ καθοσιωμένο̣υ, καὶ νῦ̣ν ταύ̣την, ὡς εἶπον, [τρίτ]η̣ν̣ χάριν τοῦ καρδαλαμίου (P.Oxy.59.4006, ll. 1–6; VI–VII AD)
>
> "This I write as a third letter … to my good and God-defended master, and of these (I sent) one by the stable lad who brought you the jujubes, and a second likewise with Appa Cyrus the soldier, and now this one, as I said, a third, on the subject of the sword-belt (?)." [tr. Handley et al.]

In this letter to the comes and μειζότερος Theodorus, Christophorus asks to send a καρταλάμιον (probably an elaborate belt). He notes how he has already written three letters, for which he uses a μέν … δέ structure, which is complemented by καί: μίαν μὲν … δευτέραν δ̣ὲ̣ … καὶ νῦ̣ν … [τρίτ] η̣ν̣.

The last social parameter, *agentive role*, is connected to social distance: since petitions constitute the most common type of formal document, high social distance or formality tends to co-occur with a subordinate agentive role. Even in this regard, however, some distinctions can be made: the senders using τοίνυν, for example, almost always assume a subordinate agentive role, while those using a modal particle more often assume an equal agentive role, as in (4):

> (4) κυρίῳ μο(υ) ἀδελφῷ Ἀβιννέῳ Λουππικῖνος. Σαραπίωνος τοῦ ἡμετέρο(υ) στρατιώτου ἐντυχόντος ̣τ̣ῇ ἡμετέρᾳ φροντίδι [κατ]ὰ τῶν τέκνων Ἄρωνος Πέτρου ἀπὸ κώμης Φιλαγρίδος οὐ μ̣ὴ̣[ν] ἀλλὰ̣ καὶ οἱ π̣ε̣̄δεις αὐτο(ῦ) μετὰ ῥωπάλων καὶ ξιφῶν των τούτο(υ) υἱὸ̣ν̣ κ̣α̣τέκοψαν (P.Abinn. 12, ll. 1–12; IV AD)
>
> "To my lord brother Abinnaeus, Luppicinus. Sarapion, our soldier, has petitioned our care against the children of Aron, son of Peter,

> of the village of Philagris. Moreover, Aron's children struck down Sarapion's son with clubs and swords." [tr. Bell et al.]

In this letter, the military officer Luppicinus alerts Flavius Abinnaeus, *praefectus alae*, that a soldier named Sarapion petitioned him. To relate the specific charge which Sarapion has against the children of Aron, Luppicinus uses the particle group οὐ μὴ[ν] ἀλλὰ καὶ, which contains the modal particle μήν. There are several indications of the fact that an equal relationship is maintained in this letter: note how Luppicinus addresses Flavius Abinnaeus with κυρίῳ μο(υ) ἀδελφῷ "my lord brother", and speaks of τοῦ ἡμετέρο(υ) στρατιώτου "our soldier".

It goes without saying that these findings have limited scope: among others, it would be interesting to further expand the analysis so as to cover a third main type of documentary texts that is, contracts. This would help us to further determine the relationship between "agentive role" and "social distance", and it could also further inform us about the social status of the people behind these documents. However, I hope to have shown that a framework such as the *Systemic Functional* one can help us to specify our analysis: it allows us to argue that specific particles occur in this or that register, and to specify the social parameters behind this claim.

## 3. Concluding Remarks

To conclude, I hope to have shown that modern linguistics offers a number of frameworks which may be beneficiary for our analysis of Ancient Greek texts. Each of these approaches has some distinct advantages and disadvantages, and the choice for one of them will depend, to some extent at least, on the purposes of the investigation and the text or corpus of texts that is to be analyzed. For the Roman and Byzantine papyri, I have drawn attention to the benefits of *Systemic Functional* theory: this theory offers an integrated sociolinguistic framework, which is centered around three social dimensions, that is, "field", "mode" and "tenor", each of which can be further specified. The notion "register" refers to linguistic varieties according to these social dimensions.

Stefano Valente

# Old and New Lexica in Palaeologan Byzantium

1*. In the long history of Greek and Byzantine lexicography, the categories of "conservation" and "renewal" can be identified as two constant poles of attraction. Old lexicographic works have always been seen as valuable repositories of ancient grammatical materials and of quotations from authors of the past to be emulated. They were therefore copied in order to preserve useful tools for the sake of education, both for understanding classical texts as well as for learning and correcting literary diction. In turn, we find renewal trends; first, because each copy of every lexicon is unique, as it were an autonomous "reissue" of its model according to the needs of the scribe (or scribes) or of the cultural centre in which the copy was produced. Furthermore, the need of refining, updating, and adapting the old materials to new purposes fostered the conception and production of new lexicographic instruments.[1]

Both trends can also be detected in the Palaeologan Byzantium,[2] in particular within a context of reorganisation of the *curriculum studiorum* after the recapture of Constantinople in 1261.[3] Concerning the grammatical and lexicographic aspects of the last period of the Byzantine Empire, we observe an increasing attention for lexica, especially for those particularly useful for the education and literary training. Atticist lexica aiming at the achievement of the needed "Attic" sociolect were therefore privileged instruments, in particular for well-defined cultural elite.[4] In order to understand what kind of lexica circulated in the Palaeologan age as well as how they were perceived in the society and consequently

* The bibliography is intentionally highly selective. Further references can be collected in the items quoted in the footnotes. I would like to thank the organizers of the conference, Eric Trapp and Andrea Cuomo, as well as the participants for their stimulating questions and remarks. I also express my gratitude to Klaus Alpers and Ian Cunningham for commenting upon the first drafts of this paper.

1 For a recent overview on Byzantine education and grammatical studies, see Giannouli 2014.

2 An introduction to Byzantine lexicography – still largely unexplored – is provided by Hunger 1978 and Alpers 1990: 24–32.

3 See e.g. Constantinides 1982: 31 ff., Fryde 2000: 144–182.

4 See Gaul 2011: 272–310.

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used, it is necessary to look not only at the works themselves or at their dissemination in the manuscripts, but it is crucial to also consider each manuscript per se in order to discover the social context of production and use. Some few examples will outline these aspects, sketching a sort of typological panorama of Palaeologan lexicography.

2. The majority of lexicographic manuscripts dating from the thirteenth century onwards transmit texts pertaining to the lowest and elementary education. It is the case, for instance, of orthographic and orthoepic works dealing only with specific spelling and accentuation problems.[5] A proper evaluation of the impact and use of these works is however complicated by the fact that there is a lot of minor and mostly anonymous texts still waiting for a critical edition. Moreover, the main Byzantine works on orthography, such as Choiroboskos' *Orthography* and *Psalm-Epimerisms*, as well as partially Theognostos' *Orthography*, are still left to be properly edited as well.[6] Their edition with a study of the manuscript tradition will shed new light on basic education in Byzantium. For instance, the name "Stesichorus" can be recovered in an orthographic canon well-attested in Byzantine orthographic and lexicographic works, such as in an entry of the *Psalm-Epimerisms* by Choiroboskos (162.18–24 Gaisford):[7] ἐρυσίβη· [...] καὶ γίνεται παρὰ τὸ ἐρύω, ὃ σημαίνει τὸ κωλύω, καὶ τὸ βῶ τὸ τρέφω, ἡ τοὺς καρποὺς κωλύουσα τρέφεσθαι. τὸ σι ι, διατί; τὰ ἀπὸ μελλόντων συντιθέμενα ὀνόματα τῷ ι παραλήγονται, τέρψω τερψίμβροτος, στήσω Στησίχορος, ἐρύσω ἐρυσίβη. Here, the presence of Stesichorus seemingly hints at the fact that there was a lively need to learn the correct spelling of the name of the Archaic Greek poet, whose poems were however no more accessible in Byzantium.[8] A possible explanation for the survival of this name relies both in the mention of Stesichorus in the canon of the nine lyric poets and in the *Epistles of Phalaris*, a sort of epistolary romance beloved in Byzantium, to which the conspicuous manuscript tradition attests.[9] The 25 fictive letters between the poet and the tyrant of Syracuse represent a relevant part of this epistolary.[10] An indirect wit-

[5] See Egenolff 1887 and 1888, Hunger 1978: 18–22, Wendel 1942, Alpers 2004, Giannouli 2014: 55 f., Valente 2014.

[6] The edition of the first 84 orthographic canons of Theognostos (Alpers 1964) as well as of Philoponus' lexicon (Daly 1983) are two exceptions.

[7] See Valente 2010, Ercoles 2013: 59, 221.

[8] On Stesichorus' *fortuna*, see Ercoles 2013: 29 ff.

[9] See Ercoles 2013: 414–460, 504–515.

[10] See Ercoles 2013: 440.

ness of the popularity enjoyed by this work can be also recovered, for instance, in the *Epimerisms* to his own letters by Georgios Lakapenos.[11] Here, Stesichorus appears once within a quotation from the epistolary[12] while commenting upon the verb θαυμάζω (p. 192 Lindstam): θαυμάζω τοῦ δεῖνος, ἀντὶ τοῦ εἰρωνευόμενος καταγελῶ, συνταττόμενον γενικῇ, ὡς καὶ Φάλαρις· "ἐθαύμασά σου πολλάκις, ὦ Στησίχορε". καὶ θαυμάζω τὸν δεῖνα τοῦ κάλλους κτλ.

2.1. Besides grammatical works composed according to a lexicographic structure, some other basic – and in a certain sense more "popular" – lexica were devoted to the elementary explanation of words. The most famous is certainly the lexicon attributed to St Cyril, which is still not edited.[13] The composition is to be set in the fifth/sixth century, being mostly a compilation of trivial and simple explanations of words taken at first from Homer, as well as from other Classical and Christian authors. More than seventy manuscripts are preserved. Their quality is very different, since we possess both calligraphic copies as well as very neglected ones. Still, some interesting materials and some hints to the use of this work can be also collected in some "secondary" manuscripts. For instance, the ms. Prague, National Museum, X F 50 + 1 Da 5 (fourteenth century)[14] is characterized by a poor appearance and by a very defective orthography. Nonetheless, this manuscript preserves some interesting glosses which are apparently absent in the other known witnesses of this work, such as in the following entry (f. 157v ll. 8–10): παραθήκη δεῖ λέγειν, οὐχὶ παρακαταθήκη ὡς παρὰ ἰσωκράτη (*sic*, ×11) καὶ θουκυδίδη (2.72.3). σημαίνει δὲ τὸ ἐνέχυρον. The reference to these Attic authors seemingly appears only in the *Pragensis*.[15] The prescriptive statement concerning the use of the substantive παραθήκη instead of παρακαταθήκη is surprisingly an "Antiatticist" statement. In other words, the Attic usage attested by Isocrates and Thucydides, that

[11] This grammatical compilation enjoyed quite a remarkable success, being copied together with the reference work and later as an autonomous lexicon. A proper investigation is still a *desideratum*. See Lindstam 1924 and Ucciardello 2013: 13 with n. 4. Concerning the use of the *Epistles of Phalaris* by Lakapenos, see Lindstam 1924: 225 (*index locorum*).

[12] The quotation does not seem to be accurate: see Lindstam's apparatus.

[13] See Hunger 1978: 37–39, Alpers 2008: 1263–1266. Famous is Paul Maas' judgment on it as "*das* greulichste aller Wörterbücher" (1937: 380).

[14] See Olivier–Monégier du Sorbier 2006: 57–64 with plates VIII f. and Valente 2015.

[15] See Valente 2015: 408.

is to say two standard models for pure Attic language, is rejected. To better understand the background of this entry, the Atticist lexicon by Thomas Magistros offers significant reference.[16] His work was conceived first by Magistros' for educational purposes, and was later updated by different scholars both within his circle in Thessalonike and then in Nikephoros Gregoras' one in Constantinople.[17] In particular, the different versions of this entry show the interest for the right use of the problematic substantive in the Atticist context during the Palaeologan age:[18]

> (cod. F) παραθήκη κάλλιον ἢ παρακαταθήκη καὶ παρατίθεται ἢ παρακατατίθεται· οὕτω γὰρ οἱ ἀρχαιότεροι λέγουσιν. Ἡρόδοτος· "παραθήκη παρατίθενται ἐς τοὺς ἐχθίστους Αἰγινήτῃσιν Ἀθηναίους". καὶ πάλιν· "ἀνάγοντες δὲ σφέας εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν παραθήκην παρατίθενται".
>
> (cod. L) παραθήκη κάλλιον ἢ παρακαταθήκη καὶ παρατίθεται ἢ παρακατατίθεται· οὕτω γὰρ οἱ ἀρχαιότεροι λέγουσιν. Ἡρόδοτος ἐν [***]· "παραθήκη παρατίθενται ἐς τοὺς ἐχθίστους Αἰγινήτῃσιν Ἀθηναίους". καὶ πάλιν ἐν [***]· "ἀνάγοντες δὲ σφέας εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν παραθήκην παρατίθενται". καὶ Θουκυδίδης ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ· "μέχρι τοῦδε ἔξομεν παρακαταθήκην".
>
> (cod. V) καὶ παραθήκη λέγε καὶ παρακαταθήκη, καὶ παρατίθεται καὶ παρακατατίθεται· οὕτω γὰρ οἱ ἀρχαῖοι λέγουσιν. Ἡρόδοτος ἐν τῇ ἕκτῃ· [...]. καὶ πάλιν [...]. Θουκυδίδης ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ· κτλ.

The different compositional and conceptual stages of Magistros' entry reveal a vivid interest for the right Attic usage of this substantive.[19] Even if the entry in the Prague manuscript of the Cyril-lexicon was probably found by its scribe in the model, it still speaks for social contexts inter-

[16] On Magistros' lexicon, see also below, p. 53 f.

[17] Gaul (2007: 296–328) considers four mss. attesting the evolution of Magistros' lexicon: F = Ferrara, Bibl. Comunale Ariostea, ms. gr. II 155 (see below, p. 53 n. 48), L = *Laur. C.S.* 8, U = *Vat. Urb. gr.* 151, V = *Vat. gr.* 22: see Gaul 2007: 329–340. Nuti 2013 added to them the ms. *Taur.* C.VI.9 to those attesting a version of Magistros' lexicon closer to the original (concerning the letters δ-ω). On Atticist trends see below, p. 52 f.

[18] I refer here to the study and transcriptions by Gaul 2007: 313–315.

[19] See Phrynichus, *Ecloga* 286 Fischer παραθήκην Ἱππίαν καὶ Ἴωνα τινὰ συγγραφέα φασὶν εἰρηκέναι, ἡμεῖς δὲ τοῦτο παρακαταθήκην ἐροῦμεν, ὡς Πλάτων καὶ Δημοσθένης καὶ Θουκυδίδης, Moeris, *Atticist lexicon* π 41 Hansen παρακαταθήκην Ἀττικοί· παραθήκην Ἕλληνες.

ested in Atticism, just as Magistros' lexicon. Moreover, this "secondary" manuscript for the text of the lexicon reveals something concerning the cultural milieu of its users and of the users of its ancestor.

2.2. A more recent lexicographic work, but still as popular as the Cyril-lexicon, is the one attributed to Zonaras, compiled in Byzantium during the first half of the thirteenth century.[20] More than a hundred codices are now extant, thus showing the high dissemination enjoyed by this lexicon starting from the Palaeologan age.[21] The authorship is still questioned: the work is attributed to a certain monk Antonius – who was probably only an owner of a copy of it – in some manuscripts,[22] such as in the ms. *Bononiensis* 3559, dated according to the colophon to the year 1290/1.[23] However, the author's name was probably Nikephoros, as Klaus Alpers rightly noticed.[24] In this huge work – about 19,000 entries in the printed edition of August Tittmann (1808) – the author collected various sources. Among them there are the so-called Cyril-lexicon, the *Suda/Suidas* lexicon (dating about the year 1000), the *Ethnika* by Stephanus of Byzantium, and the *Etymologicum* composed by Symeon between the eleventh and twelfth century.[25] As Alpers rightly stated, the author of this lexicon intended to create a new useful work combining grammatical, etymological, philosophical, and encyclopedic materials.[26] These sources were enriched with other rare Atticist glosses, such as those taken from the lexicon of Attic words by Orus of Alexandria.[27] Thanks to the combination of these materials, the Ps.-Zonaras' lexicon is a quite typical example of a brave new work produced for the sake of contemporary needs. This new creation enjoyed great success due to its usefulness, as its rich manuscript tradition attests to.

2.3. Some of the sources of Ps.-Zonaras' lexicon are collected – without being merged into a new work – in another interesting manuscript,

[20] See Alpers 1972 and 1981: 11–36.

[21] The most updated checklist in Alpers 1981: 22–36. See also Naoumides 1974 (particularly 486).

[22] See Alpers 1981: 13 n. 7.

[23] See Turyn 1972: 71 with plates 52 and 229d.

[24] Alpers 1972: 737 f. and 1981: 11–13.

[25] On the *Etymologicum Symeonis* see below, p. 50 f.

[26] See Alpers 1981: 15–17.

[27] See Alpers 1981: 1–11.

now preserved in the National Library of Prague under the signature XXV C 31.[28] It was copied by five contemporary scribes.[29] Brigitte Mondrain identified in one of them (ff. 1$^{r}$–11$^{v}$) the hand of the scholar and scientist Isaac Argyros, disciple of Nikephoros Gregoras.[30] Of the remaining four hands, the copyist B was responsible for the transcription of the most part of the codex. The manuscript contains a lexicographic and grammatical miscellany. The main work is the already mentioned *Etymologicum Symeonis* (ff. 1$^{r}$–121$^{v}$), now preserved only in five manuscripts all dating between the thirteenth and the fourteenth century.[31] In the Prague manuscript, the *Etymologicum* is followed by the treatise on Greek dialects by Gregory of Corinth, miscellaneous grammatical works, some excerpts on solecism and property of language,[32] and some entries from the lexicon *Suda* interpolated with excerpts from the *Vita Apollonii* by Flavius Philostratus. Thanks to this manuscript, it is possible to identify a group of scholars interested in copying lexicographic and grammatical works, who cooperated for the sake of producing a new miscellaneous manuscript, which would be useful to the circle.

Furthermore, the first leaves copied by Argyros are of great interest. From the collation of the text of the Prague manuscript against the edited one, it results that the part of the *Etymologicum* copied by the copyist B coincides with that of the other already known manuscripts.[33] Yet, the first eleven folia show quite a few differences in wording and content. One can consider, for instance, the following entries of the *Etymologicum* taken from the *Ethnika* by Stephanus of Byzantium (α 249 and α 251 f. Billerbeck):[34]

[28] See Olivier–Monégier du Sorbier 2006: 205–221.

[29] See Olivier–Monégier du Sorbier 2006: 218 with plates XXIX–XXXIV.

[30] Mondrain 2007: 165–170 (particularly 169). On Isaac Argyros, see *PLP* 1285.

[31] See Reitzenstein 1897: 254–286, Lasserre–Livadaras 1976: XII–XVII. See also Baldi 2013.

[32] On those treatises see e.g. below, p. 53.

[33] See Baldi 2013: XLIX–LI.

[34] I use the sample of the edition by Reitzenstein 1897: 262–279, also referring to Lasserre–Livadaras 1976.

| Etym. Sym. Prag. f. 31r ll. 52–55 | Etym. Sym. gll. 4 f. Reitzenstein, mss. EFCV (= α 660–662 Lasserre–Livadaras) |
|---|---|
| Ἀμαμασσός· πόλις Κύπρου, ἐν ᾗ τιμᾶται Ἀπόλλων. ὁ πολίτης Ἀμαμασιὸς καὶ Ἀμαμασεύς: | 4) Ἀμαμασσός· πόλις Κύπρου, ἐν ᾗ τιμᾶται Ὑλάτης Ἀπόλλων. Ἀμαμάσσιος καὶ Ἀμαμασσεύς. |
| Ἀμαθοῦς· πόλις ἐν αὐτῇ. ὁ πολίτης Ἀμαθούντιος:[35] | |
| Ἄμανον· ὄρος πρὸς τῇ Κιλικίᾳ· λέγεται δὲ οὕτως· Ὀρέστης ἀπὸ Ταύρων σὺν Ἰφιγενείᾳ τὴν Ἄρτεμιν κομίσας τῆς μανίας λύσιν εὗρεν ἐκεῖσε. τὸ ἐθνικὸν Ἀμανίτης: | 5) Ἄμανον· ὄρος πρὸς τῇ Κιλικίᾳ· λέγεται δὲ οὕτως, ὅτι Ὀρέστης ἀπὸ Ταύρων σὺν Ἰφιγενείᾳ τὴν Ἄρτεμιν κομίσας τῆς μανίας λύσιν εὗρεν. Ἀμανίτης. Ἀμμανῖται (nova gl. EF) δὲ οἱ ἀπὸ Ἀμμάνου τοῦ παιδὸς Λώτ. |
| <A>μμανῖται ἔθνος ἀρχαῖον ἀπὸ Ἀμμάνου τοῦ παιδὸς Λώτ. | |

By copying the *Etymologicum*, Argyros revised the text of his model with some light changes, such as additions, rewordings, and shortenings.[36] The differences cannot be explained as errors, but they must reflect the intention of Argyros in creating his own version of the *Etymologicum*. For some unknown reason, his enterprise was soon aborted in favour of the simple transcription of the model that he committed to another scribe of the circle.[37]

3. The attitude towards the production of new works on the basis of old lexica is quite typical of the Palaeologan age. The new creations had mostly a very small target of interested scholars and later enjoyed poor or no dissemination at all. It is the case, for instance, of the so-called *Lexicon*

[35] This entry is taken from Stephanus' lexicon as well: Steph. Byz. α 249 Billerbeck: Ἀμαθοῦς· πόλις Κύπρου ἀρχαιοτάτη, ἐν ᾗ Ἄδωνις Ὄσιρις ἐτιμᾶτο, ὃν Αἰγύπτιον ὄντα Κύπριοι καὶ Φοίνικες ἰδιοποιοῦνται. ἀπὸ Ἀμαθοῦντος δὲ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἐκλήθη ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς Κινύρου μητρὸς Ἀμαθούσης. In particular, Argyros' text confirms in this entry Meineke's conjecture Ἀμαθοῦντος for ἀμάθους of the mss. Although the entry is missing in the other manuscript witnesses of the *Etymologicum*, it is likely that Argyros had already found it in his model.

[36] I will report in detail on the *Pragensis* (as well as on Argyros' working technique) in another paper I am currently preparing.

[37] The loss of the original first leaves of the manuscript does not allow to determine whether Argyros also changed the usual title of the *Etymologicum* hinting at his own reworking.

*Vindobonense* put together by Andreas Lopadiotes.[38] Only three manuscripts survive, one of them, the *Neapolitanus* II.D.29, descending from a later, revised version of the work probably within the circle of Lopadiotes himself.[39] Even more restricted circulation had Phrankopulos' lexicon, now preserved only in the *Vaticanus gr.* 7, which transmits the letters from α to ε.[40] In this manuscript there are many interesting marginalia and supplements taken from different sources, being a sort of "manuscript in progress". These were added not only in the margins, but also on small sheets that would be later glued or bound to the manuscript. They thus reflect the interests of the author/copyist and of his circle.[41] For instance, at f. 168r l. 32 we find an entry on barbarism – βαρβαρισμὸς λέξις περὶ τὰ στοιχεῖα ἢ τὰς προσῳδίας ἡμαρτημένη – which was taken from Ps.-Zonaras' lexicon (370.13–15 Tittmann βαρβαρισμός· παράτονος διάλεξις, ἢ λέξις ἤτοι περὶ τὰ στοιχεῖα ἢ τὰς προσῳδίας ἡμαρτημένη. ἢ τὸ περὶ μίαν λέξιν ἁμαρτάνειν). After this definition, the scribe added the title "+περὶ βαρβαρισμοῦ κατὰ πλάτος:" in red ink and copied a short grammatical treatise on this topic, which is usually transmitted as an autonomous textual unit (ff. 168$^{r}$–169$^{r}$).[42] This expansion does not belong to the marginal supplements and must be due to the author himself, who considered it useful to include this treatise into his lexicon.

4. One of the most important focuses in the lexicographic field during the Palaeologan age is certainly Atticism, which played a central role in the contemporary *paideia*.[43] The need of accurate Atticist sources for the sake of speaking and composing in this fictive sociolect determined from the one side the rediscovery and/or reactivation of ancient Atticist lexica, and from the other side the creation of new works through the implementation and re-elaboration of these texts, combining them with

[38] See Gaul 2008: 182–184.

[39] See Augusto Guida, "Das Lexikon Vindobonense und die (beiden) Redaktionen" (paper read at the International Workshop "The Scholar and his Library (Palaeologan period)", Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München, October 2013, 12$^{th}$).

[40] On this author and his lexicon as well as on the *Vat. gr.* 7, see Ucciardello 2007a, Gaul 2008: 178–181, and Ucciardello 2013 (particularly 12–16). See also Kolovou 1997: 248.

[41] On the still open problems of the authoriality, of the copyist and of the scholarly circle linked to the *Vat. gr.* 7, see Gaul 2008: 179 f. and Ucciardello 2013: 15.

[42] The text of this supplement follows that printed by Valckenaer 1739: 193–197 (who did not know this Vatican ms.) with some variant readings. On this work see now Pontani 2011: 102 f.

[43] See Gaul 2008: 164–166 and 2011: 123–133, 272–310.

other literary sources. Such an operation pertains only to the highest spheres of the Palaeologan cultural elites. Both types share a common feature: a strong prescriptive orientation in order to distinguish good Attic forms from recent ones and to discover the exact meaning and usage of Attic expressions.

Among the new lexica composed during this age,[44] the *Ecloga* by Thomas Magistros is one of the most influential.[45] In the compilation of his lexicon, Magistros made thorough use of several sources and progressively updated his work.[46] Among the old Atticist lexica he used, there are Ammonius, Ps.-Herodian's *Philetaerus*, Philemon, Phrynichus' *Ecloga*, and Moeris. It is interesting to notice that the principal manuscripts of these lexica mostly date to the Palaeologan age.[47] Sometimes, they are transmitted together with Magistros' *Ecloga*. It is the case, for instance, of the codex cl. II 155 preserved in the Biblioteca Comunale Ariostea in Ferrara, dating to the year 1337.[48] Furthermore, those Atticist lexica dating from the 2nd century are also collected in miscellaneous manuscripts. One can compare, for instance, the *Laurentianus plut.* 91. sup. 10 (fourteenth century):[49] it transmits, among other works, Moeris' *Atticist* (ff. 87r–93r), a fragment of Philemon's lexicon (ff. 93r–94v) and an excerpt from Phrynichus' *Ecloga*, under the false title Harpocration (ff. 95r–104v). The Ferrara and Florence manuscripts are just two examples among many of the new life that Palaeologan scholarship donates to ancient Atticist lexica, thus playing a crucial role in their preservation.[50]

[44] A survey of the Palaeologan lexica is given by Gaul 2008.

[45] See Gaul 2007: 296–328, 2008: 184–190 and 2011: 141–144, 401 f.

[46] On Magistros' sources see Ritschl 1832: LI ff., Gaul 2011: 142 with n. 126. The compositional methodology of the *Ecloga* has been recently investigated by Gaul 2007. See also above, p. 48 f.

[47] On Moeris see Hansen 1998: 30–34 (on the "Vatican recension", that used by Magistros), on Philemon see Ucciardello 2007b, on Phrynichus see Fischer 1974: 57.

[48] See Gaul 2007: 329 f. for a detailed description of the manuscript. As he noticed, it is the "earliest dated codex transmitting the *ekl.* At the same time, it transmits the most concise version of the latter; according to the terminology of this study, the ur-*ekl.*" (p. 329). It is also the oldest dated ms. transmitting Phrynichus' *Ecloga*. See above, p. 48 n. 17.

[49] It was copied by the same scribe of the *Darmst.* 2773: see the online description on Teuchos – Zentrum für Handschriften- und Textforschung (<http://beta.teuchos.uni-hamburg.de/>). The manuscript can be consulted online at the "Teca Digitale" of the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana: <http://teca.bmlonline.it/>.

[50] Reitzenstein (1897: 388–392) postulated a collection of "Τεχνικοί" in his study on the *Philetaerus* on the basis of Magistros' account of his grammatical sources in four passages of the *Ecloga* (3.17, 145.9, 233.6, 260.10 Fischer). The existence of a similar

It was however not always possible to obey to Atticist prescriptions, being that the linguistic usage was too strong to be changed. For instance, in the *Ecloga* by Phrynichus we read the following entry (89 Fischer): αὐθέντης μηδέποτε χρήσῃ ἐπὶ τοῦ δεσπότου, ὡς οἱ περὶ τὰ δικαστήρια ῥήτορες, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτόχειρος φονέως. The word αὐθέντης should not be used in the meaning of "master" but in that of "murderer". This entry was later adopted by Thomas Magistros (100.16–101.7 Ritschl): δεσποτεία: αὐθεντία δὲ παρ᾽ οὐδενὶ τῶν δοκίμων ῥητόρων εὕρηται ἐπὶ τοῦ τῆς δεσποτείας ὀνόματος, εἰ καὶ Συνέσιος λέγει (66, p. 117.11 f. Garzya [p. 680 Hercher], ep. 67, p. 124.9 f. Garzya [= p. 675 Hercher])[51]· τὸ γὰρ αὐθέντης οἱ παλαιοὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ φονέως τάττουσιν. Ἡρόδοτος ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ (117.3)· "μήτε θυγατρὶ τῇ σῇ μήτε αὐτῷ σοι εἴην αὐθέντης". The meaning "master" is nevertheless the only known in Byzantine literature and we find it, for instance, from Nikephoros Gregoras[52] to Laonikos Chalkokondyles.[53] *Non omnia vicit Atticismus*, as the last lines of the *Suda*-entry αὐθέντης confirm (α 4426 Adler[54]): ἐπεκράτησε δὲ ἡ συνήθεια καὶ κέχρηται τῷ ὀνόματι ἀντὶ τοῦ δεσπότης· ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἀκυρολεξία.

5. According to these selected examples from Palaeologan lexicography, the cooperation of preservation and renewal trends was particularly productive in the Palaeologan Byzantium. Old Atticist lexica were normally copied in miscellaneous manuscripts together with other new lexicographic works. Preserving and developing the works of the past in order to produce more useful lexicographic sylloges – especially suitable for the urgent needs of writing and speaking Attic language – was a quite typical enterprise of the Palaeologan scholars and rhetors. The lexicographic manuscripts dating from the second half of the thirteenth century onwards belong mostly to the highest elites. Nevertheless, if one compares the number of surviving manuscripts of Atticist lexica, it results that they clearly are a minority in comparison to the number of the so-to-say most popular lexica, such as Cyril's and Ps.-Zonaras' ones. How-

collection of rare Atticist lexica transmitted together with Phrynichus' *Ecloga* was also postulated by Fischer (1974: 49). Whether Magistros was the author of such a discovery or of the reactivation of these "sleeping" lexica is, however, a mere hypothesis.

[51] On Synesius in Magistros' lexicon, see Gaul 2011: 143.

[52] *HR* III 507.3 ἐπεὶ δὲ πολλοὺς οὑμὸς αὐθέντης οὗτος καὶ βασιλεὺς κτλ.

[53] *Hist.* II 249.16–19 (ed. Darkó) φοβούμενος τόν τε αὐθέντη τὸν μέγαν καὶ τὸν πάσιαν Μαχουμούτη, καὶ πάθῃ κακῶς ὁ πρωτοβεστιάριος παρὰ τοῦ μεγάλου αὐθέντου. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο δέδωκε καὶ τὸν χάρτην πρὸς τὸν μέγαν αὐθέντη.

[54] See Adler's apparatus for further lexicographic references.

ever, this does not mean that better disseminated lexica were copied only in poorly produced manuscripts or that they were not considered by the most literate scholars. Quite a few codices of Ps.-Zonaras' lexicon provide evidence of it. If it is true that each manuscript is unique, then it is in a certain sense even more appropriate for lexicographic manuscripts, since every single copy not only is a unique "edition" of a given work, but also mirrors the scholar – or the circle of scholars – who planned its production. The study of the composition of new lexica (e.g. Ps.-Zonaras' lexicon, Thomas Magistros, Andreas Lopadiotes, Phrankopoulos, etc.) or of the reworking of existing ones (e.g. Isaac Argyros) may reveal the practical and social needs of the users as well as the intellectual dynamics beyond it. Our understanding of the social and cultural dynamics in the Palaeologan Byzantium depends also upon these scholarly works. Most are still not edited at all or available only in bad transcriptions. Not only are new editions needed, but comprehensive studies of the single manuscript witnesses of each work. Only a more holistic and synergic approach to the manuscript tradition of Palaeologan lexica – as well as their edition – joint with the study of the cultural circles will therefore help to better understand the literary and rhetoric society of the last centuries of Byzantium.

Daniele Bianconi

# La lettura dei testi antichi tra didattica ed erudizione

## *Qualche esempio d'età paleologa*

Il rapporto che nella tarda Bisanzio si venne a instaurare tra didattica ed erudizione, in particolare per quanto attiene all'insegnamento superiore e alla lettura dei testi antichi, sembrerebbe caratterizzato, in una percezione e secondo una sensibilità moderne, da una sostanziale ambiguità[1]. Ambigui sono innanzi tutto i confini e le sovrapposizioni tra le scuole vere e proprie, ritenute tali giacché iscritte in un qualche quadro istituzionale di riferimento, l'insegnamento privato (come sempre a Bisanzio assai diffuso ed efficace), e le cerchie dotte riunite intorno a una qualche personalità di spicco. I θέατρα di cui le fonti del tempo offrono abbondante documentazione e che si configurano come luoghi, socialmente codificati, di *performance* retorica cui si poteva accedere dopo un lungo tirocinio sui classici, talora finiscono per coincidere con i διδασκαλεῖα e i φροντιστήρια guidati da chi quegli stessi θέατρα animava[2]. Non è forse un caso che in un recente studio dedicato al θέατρον bizantino, Przemyslaw Marciniak abbia fatto rientrare nella più ampia accezione del termine anche «a gathering of scholars as well as a meeting of a teacher with his students»[3], e che lo stesso connubio tra θέατρα e acquisizione di una παιδεία saldamente incentrata sugli autori antichi – in specie della seconda sofistica – risulti alla base dell'ancor più recente (e dotta) disamina condotta da Niels Gaul sui θέατρα tardobizantini[4]. Si pensi, del resto, a Niceforo Gregora: questi animava un θέατρον σοφῶν all'interno del monastero di Cora dove, dopo la morte di Teodoro Metochita, aprì

[1] Si veda, in generale, Bianconi 2010a.

[2] In aggiunta alle voce bibliografiche che saranno citate più oltre, si vedano almeno Medvedev 1993, Cavallo 2001, 2002: 429–432, 2004 e 2006: part. 73–86, e Toth 2007.

[3] Marciniak 2007: 278–279.

[4] Gaul 2007: 263–267 e 2011, part. 17–53.

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un διδασκαλεῖον per le attività del quale, evidentemente, poteva disporre anche dei numerosissimi libri, alcuni di pregio e antichità inestimabili, che la ricca biblioteca del cenobio conservava[5].

A questa prima ambiguità, per così dire funzionale e se vogliamo pure terminologica, corrisponde quella degli individui. A muoversi negli ambienti che abbiamo appena delineato erano infatti figure almeno 'doppie' di διδάσκαλοι e πεπαιδευμένοι: λόγιοι ἄνδρες, cioè, che indossavano i panni, coincidenti, intercambiabili e solo a torto ritenuti antitetici, di eruditi, studiosi, *gentlemen*, insegnanti, finanche studenti avanzati in possesso di una certa esperienza che potevano affiancare i loro maestri (i πρεσβύτεροι o ὑπόσχολοι o ἔκκριτοι o ἐπιστατοῦντες o πρόξιμοι delle fonti)[6]. Personaggi, poi, che, come sempre a Bisanzio, avevano o ambivano ad avere, proprio anche per il prestigio che derivava loro dalla frequentazione di certi ambienti dotti e dal possesso di una certa formazione superiore, un qualche ruolo sociale o istituzionale di rilievo[7].

V'è poi un'ultima ambiguità – ed è quella che qui più interessa – la quale riguarda i libri. Gli stessi individui, infatti, erano spesso impegnati anche come copisti, sia di libri concepiti e allestiti, spesso con modalità collettive, per rispondere a esigenze didattiche ed erudite – libri che

[5] Nic. Greg., ep. 60, 60–61, Leone 1982: 182: ἐπεὶ δ'ἐρήμην ἠγωνίσω κατὰ τοῦ μου γράμματος, *ἀγώνισαι κἀμοῦ παρόντος, εἰ βούλει, κἀν θεάτρῳ σοφῶν* ed ep. 114, 62–67, Leone 1982: 300: διά τοι τοῦτο καὶ *διδασκαλεῖον αὐτὸς ἀνέῳξα* καὶ κόποις ἐκδέδωκα ἐμαυτόν, "ἑκὼν ἀέκοντί γε θυμῷ", δυσωπηθεὶς μέν πως, ὡς εἴρηται, καὶ τὰς τῶν ἑκάστοτε προσιόντων ἱκετείας, συχνοὶ δ'οὗτοι καὶ φίλοι καὶ πολλὴν τὴν σεμνότητα προβαλλόμενοι γένους τε εἵνεκα καὶ ἀρετῆς τῆς τε ἄλλης καὶ ἣν οἱ τῶν λόγων τελεσφοροῦσι λειμῶνες. La prima epistola è rivolta a Giovanni Basilico (*PLP* 2463), la seconda lettera è indirizzata al *sebastos* Michele Caloeida (*PLP* 10569) e si data tra il 1332 e il 1333 (prima del 14 maggio); la ragione che indusse Gregora ad aprire il διδασκαλεῖον fu la constatazione di essere rimasto l'unico, dopo la morte di Metochita, a conoscere la filosofia e le arti del quadrivio: si vedano anche Ševčenko 1975, Mergiali 1996: 78–79 e Cuomo 2013: 196–200. Mi sembra altresì interessante che – stando alle parole di Gregora – a cementare i membri della sua cerchia fossero un sentimento di φιλία e la condivisione di virtù quali, soprattutto, il γένος: del resto, come ha scritto Ševčenko 1975: 22, si trattava di una «small society of a small state where everybody knew everybody, wrote to everybody, and was related by marriage to everybody, had begged everybody for gifts or taught everybody's children». Non per caso, Gregora si fece carico, già da prima del 1328, dell'educazione dei due figli di Metochita, Irene e Niceforo: Mergiali 1996: 67–69. Sulla biblioteca di Cora, oltre al classico Ševčenko 1975, si vedano anche Bianconi 2005a e 2008b: 436–439.

[6] Bianconi 2010a: 505 e 488–489 sui πρόξιμοι, con bibliografia (tra gli altri: Cavallo 2001: 600 e 602–603, Constantinides 2003 e Browning 2005: 148–150 e 156–157), Golitsis 2010, e Gaul 2011: 267–271.

[7] Che a Bisanzio vi sia sempre stata una stretta connessione tra istruzione retorica e funzione pubblica è cosa ben nota che non necessita di ulteriori dimostrazioni: basti il rinvio a Cavallo 2001: 623–628.

in un'altra occasione ho definito 'miscellanee di mani' e che incarnano il sentimento di appartenenza a un gruppo, scuola o conventicola che fosse, e di distinzione sociale che ne derivava – sia anche di libri non necessariamente funzionali all'insegnamento, ma che quegli stessi individui copiavano per se stessi come esperienza erudita oppure, in qualità di professionisti della scrittura, per altri dietro compenso[8]. In specie per l'età tarda, poi, abbondano le tracce di lettura lasciate da questi eruditi/insegnanti – si pensi al già citato Gregora o a Massimo Planude – in libri più antichi come espressione delle loro letture dotte e individuali, alle quali tante volte però non era estranea una qualche esigenza didattica, sicché quei vecchi cimeli, riadattati in nuovi contesti e per nuove funzioni, potevano diventare all'occorrenza libri di scuola[9].

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In questa prospettiva, un esempio su cui la ricerca è tuttora in corso può riuscire, pur nella provvisorietà dei risultati, di un certo interesse. Lo studio della logica aristotelica e dei suoi commentatori rappresentava un aspetto fondamentale nella formazione di ciascun bizantino, giacché costitutiva la prima tappa del *trivium* (logica, retorica, grammatica), la quale non esauriva la sua valenza nelle implicazioni filosofiche, ma riusciva di grande utilità anche nello studio della retorica[10]. Non si conoscono, se non mi inganno, tracce della lettura o dell'insegnamento da parte di Massimo Planude della logica di Aristotele; la presenza dello stagirita nella 'biblioteca' del dotto monaco – se si eccettuano i brani confluiti nei *Collectanea* o in altri scritti di analoga natura – è limitata agli estratti dal *De mundo* copiati nel Vat. Urb. gr. 125 e al testimone della *Retorica*

[8] Bianconi 2003 e 2004; si vedano anche Pérez Martín 1997a, Cavallo 2004 e Golitsis 2008 e 2010; dietro l'allestimento "collettivo" di certi volumi planudei Vendruscolo 1994: 65–68 – seguito da Martinelli Tempesta 2006: 125–126 – ha ipotizzato una dettatura del testo agli allievi da parte del maestro.

[9] Bianconi 2010a: 506–508 e Nousia 2016: 93–140.

[10] Esistendo sull'argomento una bibliografia sterminata, mi limito a rimandare alla messa a punto reperibile in Markopoulos 2008. Più nello specifico, relativamente all'età dei Paleologi si vedano, in generale, Constantinides 1982, Mergiali 1996, Fryde 2000 e Pontani 2015a: 403–434; quanto alla logica aristotelica, assai utile riesce soprattutto Benakis 1988; per un approccio, infine, che tenga conto anche dei manoscritti, oltre al classico Ebbesen 1981, tra le pubblicazioni più recenti – dalle quali è possibile risalire ad altre voci bibliografiche precedenti – segnalo Mondrain 2000, Kotzabassi 2002, Cacouros 2006a, Bianconi 2010c e Menchelli 2010.

Vat. gr. 1340, entrambi da ricondurre a Planude e ai suoi collaboratori/allievi[11].

Un testimone importante per i commentari di Ammonio e Giovanni Filopono al primo libro degli *Analytica Priora* e *codex unicus* per il commentario di Stefano Alessandrino e di un anonimo al *De interpretatione* è il Paris. gr. 2064, studiato qualche tempo fa da Giuseppe De Gregorio che lo ha assegnato alla seconda metà del X secolo e ricondotto all'Italia meridionale[12]. Datazione e localizzazione mi sembrano entrambe da rivedere: a mio parere, infatti, il codice va piuttosto collocato in area orientale e assegnato tra la fine del IX secolo e il primo quarto del successivo[13]. Qui, però, interessa altro. Tra le mani marginali seriori presenti nel codice ve ne è una assegnata da De Gregorio alla prima metà del XIV secolo, datazione, questa, che può essere accolta solo ove la si circoscriva entro il 1305, trattandosi, a mio avviso, della mano di Massimo Planude[14]. A sostegno

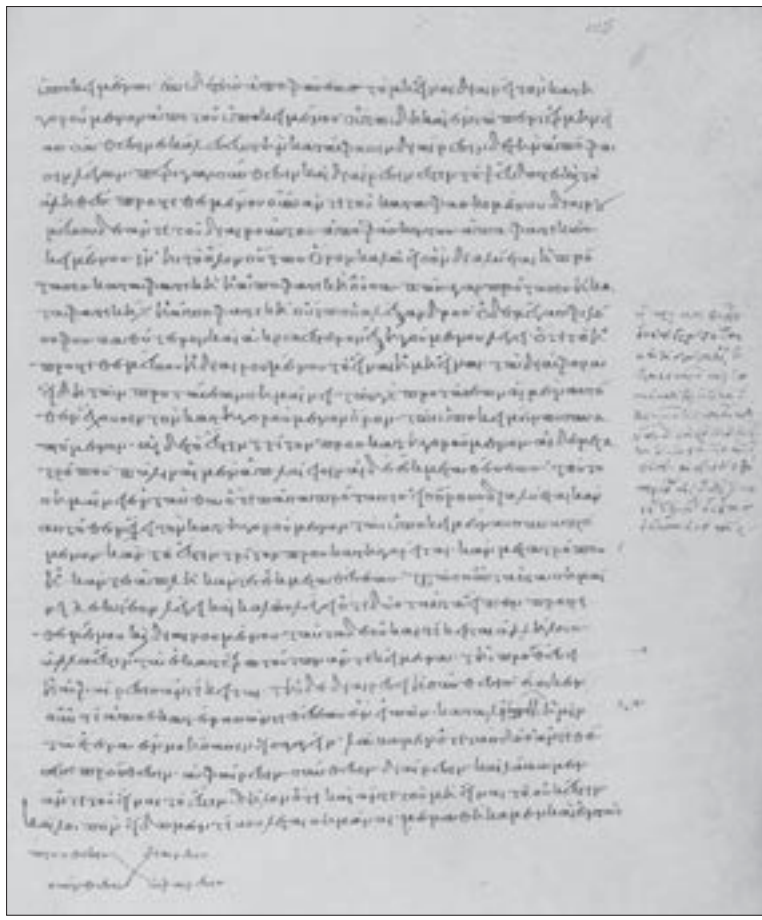
[11] Sull'Urbinate si veda da ultimo De Gregorio 2014, con un quadro aggiornato della bibliografia, sul Vaticano, invece, Pérez Martín 1996b e Canart 1998: 51–52, rist. 1137–1138; utile anche, per entrambi i manoscritti, Bianconi 2003: 530–531. Quanto ai *Collectanea*, si veda ora Ferroni 2011 e 2015. Bisognerebbe, inoltre, verificare se i *marginalia* ricondotti a Bessarione da Rashed 2001: nr. 60, 30–31, 276–283, 285 e 293–294 nel Marc. gr. Z. 211 (coll. 750) – testimone della fine del XIII secolo con alcuni scritti fisici e logici di Aristotele (descrizione in Mioni 1981: 324–325) – non possano essere assegnati piuttosto a Planude, come sarei incline a credere: si veda la lunga annotazione che corre nel margine inferiore del f. 63v, riprodotta in Rashed 2001, tav. 43 (nella [sola?] didascalia è l'attribuzione a Bessarione); il cardinale utilizzò comunque il manoscritto per gli estratti autografi ora nel Paris. gr. 2042, come hanno dimostrato da ultimi Brockmann – Lorusso 2014 limitatamente al *De caelo*, il che impone massima cautela.

[12] De Gregorio 1991: 477–478 e tavv. 1–4. Il codice, dopo essere appartenuto a Lauro Quirini, morto a Creta tra il 1475 e il 1479, ricompare in Italia settentrionale nella biblioteca del medico Niccolò Leoniceno da Padova: si vedano Rashed 2001: 259–265, per l'identificazione della mano di Lauro, e Speranzi 2010: 327–328 nn. 40 e 46, con altra bibliografia. Secondo De Gregorio 1991: 495–497 il codice sarebbe stato portato in Italia, dove poi lo avrebbe acquistato il Leoniceno, forse da Smirne e passando per l'Epiro; secondo Arnesano 2006: 188–189, che pure considera il manoscritto caratterizzato da «grafie riferibili ad area calabro–sicula», il medico vicentino ne sarebbe entrato in possesso in Terra d'Otranto.

[13] A queste stesse conclusioni è giunto, indipendentemente da chi scrive, anche Lucà 2014: 153 n. 77, dove, tuttavia, il rinvio al saggio di De Gregorio 1991 subito dopo il riferimento al Paris. gr. 2064 (e all'Ambr. L 93 sup.) risulta fuorviante giacché, come detto, è proprio in tale saggio che si propone (o si ribadisce) per entrambi i manoscritti un'origine italogreca sulla base, tra l'altro, di caratteristiche paleografiche – la presunta vicinanza delle scritture impiegate al cosiddetto tipo Anastasio – e, almeno per l'Ambrosiano, anche decorative – cornicette ornamentali, iniziali e altri elementi ancora – per la cui valutazione si veda ora con profitto Hutter 2006 e 2009.

[14] De Gregorio 1991: 478–479 e n. 6: alla tav. 4 di questo stesso studio, dove è riprodotto il f. 22v, si possono osservare, attestati sia nel margine esterno piuttosto in alto

dell'attribuzione bastano – mi sembra – le forme minuscole di *gamma*, *theta* e *ny*, quelle maiuscole di *kappa* e *phi*, nonché le legature di *epsilon–iota*, *epsilon–csi* e quelle 'a staffa' del *rho* con lettera seguente[15] [Tav. 1].



Tav. 1: Paris. gr. 2064, f. 103r

Planude studia con attenzione il manoscritto e ne postilla svariati fogli, rispondendo alle sollecitazioni che i commentatori aristotelici contenuti

verso l'angolo superiore che lungo il bordo inferiore della pagina, interventi della mano che qui si intende identificare proprio con quella di Planude.

[15] Nuove recenti identificazioni della mano di Planude si devono a Bianconi 2011, 2014 e 2016, a Bianconi – Canart 2013, a De Gregorio 2014, lavori cui si rimanda anche per altra bibliografia planudea.

suscitano in un lettore colto e raffinato come lui. Un riferimento – nel commentario di Ammonio al primo libro degli *Analytica Priora* (23, 7) – a un non altrimenti specificato μέγας φιλόσοφος, gli offre l'occasione per sciogliere l'equivoco e chiarire che si tratta di Proclo. Scrive Planude nel margine esterno del f. 103r:

> τ(ὸν) Πρόκλον φησὶν | ὃν ἐπιγράφεται | καὶ διδάσκαλον (καὶ) | ἐξαίρει πάντ(ων) τῶν ὑπο|μνήματα ἐξηγητικὰ τ(ῶν) δοκούντ(ων) τοῖς παλαι(οῖς) κ(α)τα|λιπόντ(ων) καὶ εἰς ἄκρ(ον) ἐλθ(εῖν) | ἐν τοῖς τοιούτ(οις) τῆς ἀν(θρωπ)ίν(ης) | φύσε(ως) ἀναγορεύει ἐν | προλόγω τῆς τοῦ περὶ ἑρμη|νει(ας) ἐξηγήσε(ως) ἧς οὗτος | ὁ Ἀμμώνιος π(ατ)ήρ:~
>
> [vale a dire: «parla di Proclo che chiama anche maestro ed esalta al di sopra di tutti coloro che hanno lasciato commentari esegetici delle opinioni degli antichi e, nel prologo del commentario al *De interpretatione* del quale (commentario) è autore lo stesso Ammonio, lo proclama aver raggiunto in tali commentari la vetta della natura umana».]

Nel leggere il commentario di Ammonio agli *Analytica Priora*, Planude ha in mente un altro passo dello stesso Ammonio, peraltro non contenuto nel testimone Parigino, vale a dire il commentario al *De interpretatione* di Aristotele. Come si può vedere, è dall'inizio del prologo (6–11) di questo secondo commentario, che l'erudito riprende, quasi di peso, alcune espressioni poi riportate nel margine del Parigino:

> εἰ δέ τι καὶ ἡμεῖς δυνηθείημεν εἰσενεγκεῖν περὶ τὴν τοῦ βιβλίου σαφήνειαν, ἀπομνημονεύσαντες τῶν ἐξηγήσεων τοῦ θείου ἡμῶν διδασκάλου Πρόκλου τοῦ Πλατωνικοῦ διαδόχου τοῦ εἰς ἄκρον τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως τήν τε ἐξηγητικὴν τῶν δοκούντων τοῖς παλαιοῖς δύναμιν καὶ τὴν ἐπιστημονικὴν τῆς φύσεως τῶν ὄντων κρίσιν ἀσκήσαντος, πολλὴν ἂν τῷ λογίῳ θεῷ χάριν ὁμολογήσαιμεν[16].
>
> [vale a dire: «se anche noi avessimo potuto arrecare un qualche contributo alla chiarezza del libro, ricordando le esegesi del successore di Platone, il nostro divino maestro Proclo, il quale fino alla vetta della natura umana esercitò e la potenza esegetica delle opinioni degli antichi e il giudizio scientifico della natura degli enti, avremmo accordato somma gratitudine al colto dio».]

Come con altri autori del passato, Planude stringe con Ammonio e con gli altri commentatori aristotelici un dialogo erudito e, si direbbe, per-

[16] Ammonius, In Arist. de int. comm., Busse 1897: 1, 6–11.

sonale, che lo costringe a uno sforzo intellettuale e a un supplemento d'indagine in altri testi e in altri libri.

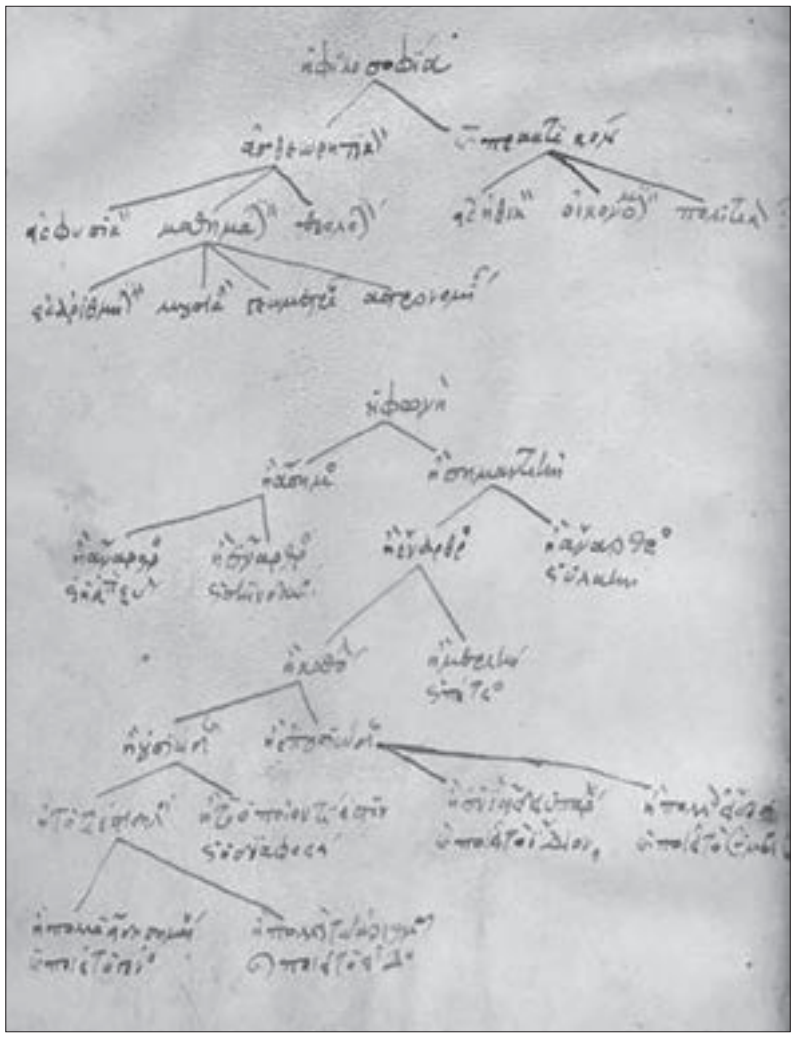
Non si può escludere che la lettura che Planude compì dei commentatori aristotelici traditi dal Paris. gr. 2064 rientrasse in un'attività, peraltro assai verosimile, di insegnamento della logica aristotelica. Un primo approccio a questa spesso avveniva a Bisanzio attraverso la lettura della *Dialectica* di Giovanni Damasceno, testo 'scolastico', per così dire, per eccellenza[17]. Mi è incorso di scovare nel codice greco 317 della Bayerische Staatsbibliothek di Monaco un τετράδιον, un fascicoletto (ff. 5–12) ma si direbbe anche un quadernuccio, materialmente incoerente con il manoscritto originario – sebbene quest'ultimo rechi di mani differenti scritti del Damasceno (la *Dialectica* e l'*Expositio fidei*) – e contenente un sunto della *Dialectica* o, meglio, una sua riduzione in schemi diairetici (aventi forma, cioè, di 'albero')[18]. Questi schemi sono piuttosto frequenti nei manoscritti di contenuto logico e si ritrovano anche nei codici della *Dialectica* del Damasceno. La loro presenza è però generalmente limitata ad alcuni passaggi (ad esempio si trova il cosiddetto 'albero di Porfirio' che definisce il concetto di οὐσία attraverso una serie di successive διαιρέσεις)[19]. Nel nostro caso, invece, le διαιρέσεις riguardano l'intera *Dialectica* di cui offrono una completa schematizzazione. La mano impegnata è senza dubbio quella di Massimo Planude [Tavv. 2–3]: si considerino, fra le altre, le forme isolate del *beta*, a cuore e bilobulare, del *gamma* alto, del *kappa* maiuscolo con tratto verticale sinuoso e desinente in un piccolo ricciolo, e quelle dell'*epsilon* in legatura 'a fiocco' con *iota* (e, senza soluzione di continuità, accento circonflesso) e nel gruppo *epsilon–pi–iota*. Giusta l'identificazione qui proposta, dunque, il codice di Monaco ci consegna, in un insolito τετράδιον, quello che si direbbe un autografo planudeo, un testo, cioè, fatto chiaramente di espressioni della *Dialectica* e inscrivibile in una tradizione di schemi diairetici ben diffusa, ma non avente nella sua *facies* complessiva, per quanto mi consta, altra tradizione manoscritta: un testo finalizzato allo studio personale e alla memorizzazione della

[17] Nell'ambito di una letteratura critica sterminata, mi limito a citare, tra le voci più recenti a me note, Demetracopoulos 2011 e Erismann 2011, con la bibliografia ivi citata.

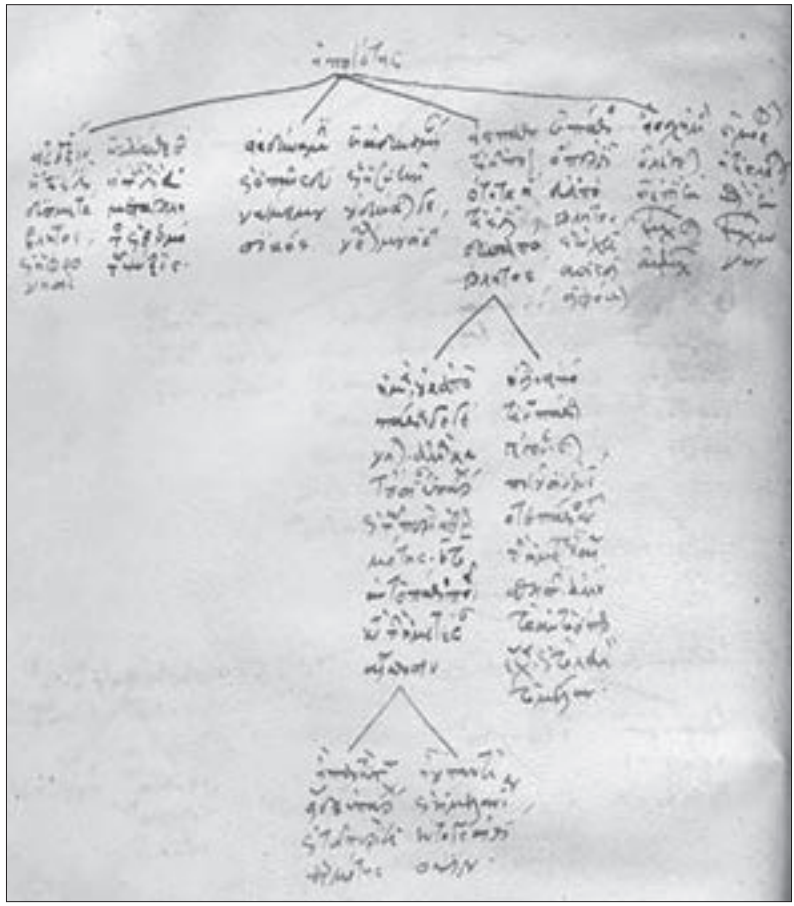
[18] Per una descrizione assai sommaria del codice, nella quale il testo che qui interessa non viene menzionato, occorre fare ancora riferimento a Hardt 1806: 276–277; Kotter 1959: 42–43 parla genericamente di «schemata»; al breve testo non si allude, invece, in Kotter 1969. Sugli schemi diairetici si veda almeno Cacouros 2001: 27–28 e 2006b: 162–163.

[19] Busse 1887: 4–5.

*Dialectica* – e quindi della logica – sebbene non si possa escludere che fosse altresì traguardato, come sarei piuttosto incline a credere, alla preparazione di una lezione (o di un ciclo di lezioni) e, dunque, all'insegnamento (erudizione e didattica non sono mai state incompatibili).



Tav. 2: Monac. gr. 317, f. 5v



Tav. 3: Monac. gr. 317, f. 9v

Qualche tempo fa ho individuato la mano di Planude in un interessante scolio a Platone, *Leg.* I 627b1–2 τὸ μὲν τοίνυν εἴ ποτέ ἐστίν που τὸ χεῖρον κρεῖττον τοῦ ἀμείνονος attestato nel margine superiore del f. 2r del celeberrimo Vat. gr. 1[20]. Si trattava, mi sembra, di un'identificazione di una certa importanza, non soltanto perché documentava l'interesse del monaco per il filosofo – a testimoniarlo, infatti, già concorrevano il suo impegno nell'allestimento del Vindob. phil. gr. 21 e la presenza di compendi da alcuni dialoghi nei già ricordati *Collectanea*[21] –, ma perché

[20] Bianconi 2014.

[21] L'identificazione della mano di Planude nel codice di Vienna si deve a Turyn 1972: I, 214, ma sul manoscritto si vedano soprattutto Gamillscheg 1984 e D'Acunto

permetteva di stabilire che le letture platoniche erano state condotte su un testimone di grande antichità e indiscusso pregio. Il Vat. gr. 1, infatti, ora mutilo di 24 fascicoli iniziali, rappresenta ciò che resta del secondo tomo, contenente le tetralogie VII–IX e gli spuri, di un'edizione platonica che ha il suo primo e complementare volume nel testimone, grosso modo coevo, Oxon. Bodl. Clark. 39, il quale reca le prime sei tetralogie copiate nell'895 da Giovanni il calligrafo per Areta[22].

Accanto a questa raccolta, con cui si identifica la prima famiglia della tradizione medievale del filosofo, ve ne è una seconda, egualmente antica, che pure presenta i testi incardinati in tetralogie e organizzati in due tomi. Testimoni primari di questa seconda edizione sono il Paris. gr. 1807, della cosiddetta 'collezione filosofica', con le tetralogie VIII e IX e gli spuri, e il Marc. gr. app. IV.1 (coll. 542), o, meglio, il suo modello: al termine della VII tetralogia, infatti, il Marciano reca l'indicazione τέλος τοῦ α΄ βιβλίου, ma il copista – identificato con il monaco Efrem – ha cercato di sanare la cesura trascrivendo di seguito, peraltro forse dallo stesso Parigino, almeno la *Repubblica*. Il codice, infatti, è mutilo della parte finale, interrompendosi il nucleo antico (ff. 5–212) all'inizio del terzo libro del dialogo: un primo intervento di restauro, d'età paleologa, ha restituito il finale della *Repubblica* sulla base dell'Escor. Y.I.13 di Gregorio di Cipro, mentre due implementazioni seriori, da assegnare rispettivamente a Giovanni Roso e a Cesare Stratego, hanno accresciuto il codice del *De anima mundi et natura* di Timeo di Locri e del *De animae procreatione in Timaeo* di Plutarco (ff. 1–4) e del *Timeo* (ff. 256–265 e I')[23].

Ebbene, Planude ebbe accesso anche alla seconda famiglia della tradizione platonica, in particolare – come si cercherà di dimostrare qui di seguito – proprio al testimone Marciano. La sua mano – e non poteva essere diversamente – figura solo nel corpo originario del manoscritto e nel restauro più antico: anzi, il suo riconoscimento costituisce ora un preciso

1995; sugli estratti platonici confluiti nei *Collectanea* rimando ora a Ferroni 2011 e 2015.

[22] Sulle coordinate della tradizione medievale di Platone, qui solo riassunte in maniera peraltro essenziale, basti il rinvio ad alcuni classici: Lemerle 1971: 215–216, Carlini 1972: 145–146 e 165, Irigoin 1985–1986.

[23] La bibliografia sul codice è sterminata: sulla sua posizione stemmatica si veda almeno Boter 1986a: 78–79, 142–149 con note 1–7 alle pp. 202–204 e 181–202, e 1986b; sui restauri Mioni 1971: 199 (affidabile solo per quelli più recenti), Fonkič 1979: 158 n. 20, dove è l'assegnazione dei ff. 213–255 «au tournant des XIII$^{e}$–XIV$^{e}$ siècles», Martinelli Tempesta 2003: 15–16, Menchelli 2006: 205–206, e, infine, Speranzi 2013: 134. La tradizionale attribuzione del codice a Efrem – proposta in maniera indipendente da Fonkič 1979: 158 e Diller 1980, e generalmente accolta (un punto sulla bibliografia inerente al copista è ora in D'Aiuto 2011: 74–75 n. 8, cui aggiungerei almeno anche Anderson 2004: 22–46) – mi sembra debba essere riconsiderata.

*terminus ante quem* per datare con maggiore precisione questo restauro, che, assegnato in precedenza al XV secolo e solo di recente rivendicato all'età paleologa, dovrà essere riferito entro il 1305, tanto più che la mano che lo ha eseguito ricorda moltissimo il copista, forse di nome Teofilo, che copiò i 'Plutarchi' di Planude Vat. gr. 139 + Paris. gr. 1674 e Paris. gr. 1671, quest'ultimo nel 1296[24]. Sebbene alcuni interventi di Planude occorrano già nei fogli di X secolo[25], essi si concentrano soprattutto nella porzione restaurata, della quale l'erudito corregge in più punti il testo (ff. 215v, 218v, 223v, 226v, 229v, 231r, 232r, 239v). Vediamone solo alcuni esempi, trascelti per il peso a livello d'attribuzione e per l'interesse filologico, più invero sul piano della pratica dotta all'incrocio tra lettura e scrittura che su quello propriamente ecdotico–stemmatico.

Nel margine esterno del f. 215v [Tav. 4a], all'altezza della l. 5 *ab imo* della prima colonna, in riferimento a *Resp.* III 403a12 αὕτη ἡ ἡδονή – ma il manoscritto aveva αὐτῆς ἡδονῆς che l'erudito corregge –, Planude aggiunge le parole omesse dal copista οὐδὲ κοινωνητέ(ον)[26] | αὐτῆς, facendo precedere l'integrazione dal consueto κείμεν(ον) e collegandola al testo attraverso un segno di rimando costituito da un tratto obliquo posto tra due puntini (·/·). La stessa modalità Planude impiega nel margine esterno del f. 223v [Tav. 4b] all'altezza della l. 9 *ab imo* della prima colonna per restituire la breve sequenza ἢ μὴ ὀρθῶς a *Resp.* V 449d5 εἰς πολιτείαν ὀρθῶς, un passaggio anche altrimenti tormentato sul quale si tornerà a breve. Si prenda ancora il f. 226v [Tav. 4c]: qui nel margine esterno, in relazione alla col. A, l. 26, *Resp.* V 464e4 καὶ μὴν, un segno di rinvio in forma di tratto verticale incipiente e desinente in una pallina, introduce, insieme all'immancabile κείμεν(ον) la pericope οὐδὲ βιαί(ων) γε· οὐδ' αἰ|κί(ας) δίκην δικαί(ως) ἄν | εἶεν ἐν αὐτοῖς, che subito seguiva ma che l'*instaurator* aveva saltato (δίκην è peraltro un'innovazione non accolta dagli editori che pubblicano δίκαι). Delle forme più tipiche della mano di Planude si è già detto; basterà qui notare come ritornino, distribuiti

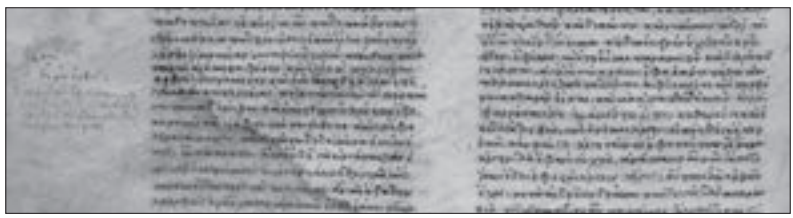
[24] Sul Paris. gr. 1671 si veda Hoffmann 1989; su Teofilo e sulla sua identificazione nell'altro Plutarco di Planude si vedano Manfredini 1992: 124, e Pérez Martín 1997b: 385–386. Non consivisibili appaiono le valutazioni sulla scrittura dell'*instaurator* espresse in Menchelli 2006: 206 n. 49 da parte di Giuseppe De Gregorio, per il quale «si tratta nel complesso di una scrittura tradizionale–conservativa, che presenta alcuni elementi propri degli esiti più nettamente arcaizzanti di questo periodo».

[25] Ad esempio ai ff. 1r (?), 18v, 30v, 119v, 129r, 169v, 208r; nel margine superiore dei ff. 18v e 119v Planude trascrive il problematico v. 539 dell'*Agamennone* di Eschilo, del quale, assente nel celebre *Mediceus* Laur. Plut. 32.9, l'erudito offre la più antica attestazione diretta: si veda Bianconi in corso di stampa.

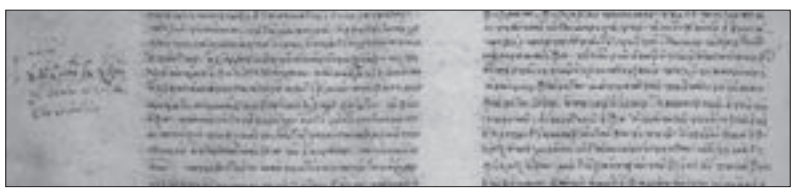
[26] Il secondo *ny* è scritto correggendo un originario *tau*.

fra i vari *marginalia* ma presenti tutti insieme nell'intervento al f. 226v, il *beta* bilobulare, il *gamma* alto, il *kappa* maiuscolo con tratto obliqui arcuati, cui si aggiunga, ancora, il nesso per *omicron–ypsilon*.

Tav. 4: a. Marc. gr. app. IV.1 (coll. 542), f. 215v, dettaglio



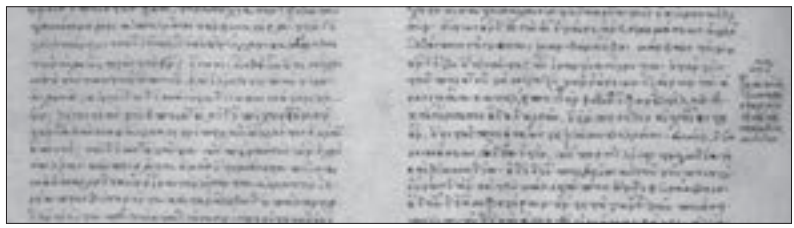
b. Marc. gr. app. IV.1 (coll. 542), f. 223v, dettaglio



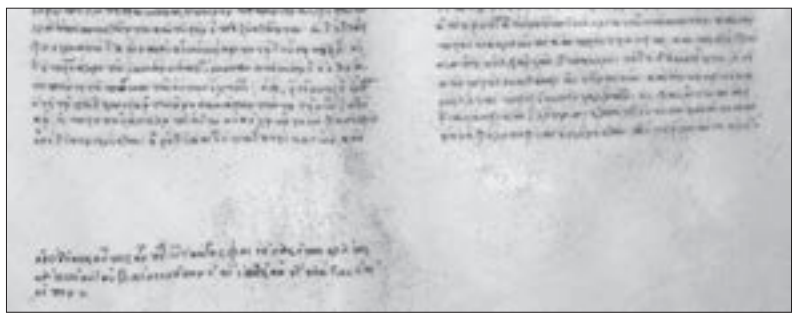
c. Marc. gr. app. IV.1 (coll. 542), f. 226v, dettaglio

Torniamo per un istante al f. 223v [Tav. 4b]. Subito al di sotto dell'intervento di Planude, una mano diversa ma coeva ha scritto *Resp.* I 449d6–450a1 πρὶν ταῦτα ἱκανῶς δι|ελέσθαι δέδοκται ἡμῖν | τοῦτο ὃ σὺ ἤκουσας. τὸ. | σὲ μὴ μεθιέναι ricollegandosi, attraverso un segno a forma di croce provvista di due puntini alloggiati nei quadranti superiori, al testo principale, col. A, l. 8 *ab imo* subito prima di πρὶν ταῦτα ἂν ὥσπερ πάντα (l'ordine di queste parole è un po' perturbato rispetto a quello di norma edito). Lo stesso segno si ritrova nel margine interno del f. 213v [Tav. 5a], dove, in riferimento a col. B, l. 31 καταλείπῃ, viene impiegato per introdurre, insieme a κείμ(ε)ν(ον), *Resp.* III 394b6–7 καὶ τοῦτο | ἔφη μανθά|νω, ὅτι ἐστὶ | τὸ περὶ τὰς | τραγωδίας | τοιοῦτον. che segue. La presenza del me-

desimo segno di rinvio conferma quell'identità di mano che forse il colore dell'inchiostro, rossiccio nell'intervento di f. 223v e marrone scuro in quello di f. 213v, potrebbe a prima vista mettere in dubbio. Del resto, le forme grafiche sono le stesse e consentono di riferire a questa stessa mano anche un'interessante annotazione nel margine inferiore del f. 216r [Tav. 5b] relativa a Erodico, il maestro di Ippocrate, di cui si parla in *Resp.* III 404a7–b2: Ἡρόδικος οὗτος ἦν παρ' ὧ ὁ Κῶος φοιτήσας Ἱπποκράτης | κάτω ἑαυτοῦ βαίνειν ὅσον ἐπὶ ἰατρικῇ τ(οὺς) πάντας ἀπέλιπεν †. La mano in questione esibisce una stringente analogia con quella di un certo Giovanni, un copista–filologo piuttosto prolifico e longevo, che iniziò la sua carriera proprio con Planude (e Niceforo Moscopulo), insieme ai quali copiò il già ricordato Platone Vindob. phil. gr. 21, e la concluse con Niceforo Gregora, circostanza che, ove si considerino il contenuto del codice Marciano e la presenza in esso di interventi qui ricondotti allo stesso Planude, potrebbe forse trasformare l'analogia in una piena identificazione[27].



Tav. 5: a. Marc. gr. app. IV.1 (coll. 542), f. 213v, dettaglio



b. Marc. gr. app. IV.1 (coll. 542), f. 216r, dettaglio

[27] Per l'accostamento a Giovanni si veda già Menchelli 2006: 206. Una messa a punto sui manoscritti di Giovanni si deve a Mondrain 2007: 187–188, da integrare con Bianconi 2011: 123 n. 32 e Mondrain 2014: 206–207 e 223 (tav. 5); su mani analoghe a quella di Giovanni si vedano, da ultimi, Mazzucchi 2013: 262 e n. 16 e 2014: 183–184 e n. 6, e Martinelli Tempesta 2015: 306 e n. 114.

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La categoria dei libri 'di scuola' si deve ritenere necessariamente ampia ed eterogenea, giacché potevano rientrarvi sia libri concepiti per assolvere esigenze didattiche sia anche libri nati per altri scopi e che a queste stesse esigenze, quando il contenuto lo permetteva, potevano essere adattati. Non solo: se, nel caso della riconversione a pratiche didattiche di manoscritti allestiti per esigenze d'altro genere, una certa varietà a livello di scelte editoriali, strategie di *mise en page* e soluzioni grafiche è inevitabile, anche i libri programmaticamente nati per la scuola presentano caratteri assai differenti, trattandosi ora di libri di un certo pregio estetico, che si direbbero copiati piuttosto da amanuensi di professione, ora di zibaldoni d'erudito fittamente scritti e annotati. E se per questi ultimi il legame con i protagonisti della scuola e dell'erudizione appare evidente, è comunque difficile, forse anzi impossibile, distinguere tra libri e mani del maestro e libri e mani degli allievi[28]: ritornando al τετράδιον planudeo, nulla vieta di pensare che si tratti, piuttosto, del quaderno di Planude studente alle prese con lo studio della *Dialectica*. Quanto ai libri provvisti di una maggiore qualità formale, a suggerirne (ma non ad assicurarne) una destinazione scolastica è soltanto il contenuto.

Molti dei libri di scuola o di quelli ritenuti tali per via del contenuto, infatti, sembrerebbero non essere stati oggetto di quegli studi e di quelle letture per i quali si può pensare fossero stati concepiti e sapientemente prodotti. I grandi margini e gli ampi interlinei di cui sono provvisti, ad esempio, solo di rado hanno accolto quelle note e quegli appunti per i quali erano stati progettati. Si considerino, ad esempio, i numerosi esemplari grammaticali, all'incirca una quarantina, allestiti nel primo quarto del XV secolo da Giorgio Baioforo, cui Ernst Gamillscheg ha dedicato uno studio magistrale: «Schulbücher», come si è a ragione ipotizzato, che non recano però alcun segno o quasi di uso scolastico[29]. Una situazione analoga, del resto, dimostra anche il caso, di recente studiato da Paul Canart, delle 'antologie scolastiche' d'età paleologa: ancora una volta è solo il contenuto – lessici, Filostrato, le metafrasi planudee, le favole esopiche, Sinesio, Libanio – a lasciarne ipotizzare una destinazione scolastica, ma si direbbe che nessuno, insegnante o allievo, abbia

[28] Bianconi 2010a: 481–488.

[29] Gamillscheg 1977; l'ultima attribuzione a me nota alla mano di Giorgio Baioforo si deve a Bianconi – Orsini 2013, dove è possibile reperire altra bibliografia sul personaggio.

sfogliato la maggior parte di quei libri[30]. E lo stesso, fatte salve alcune ovvie e scontate eccezioni, avviene per i numerosi manoscritti, in specie di contenuto retorico, prodotti nel corso della cosiddetta 'rinascenza paleologa': libri di Temistio, Sinesio, Libanio, Filostrato, Aristide, Luciano, Dione, del *Gorgia* e del Timeo platonici, spesso associati a scritti retorici del tempo (μῦθοι, ἠθοποιΐαι, ἐκφράσεις, προγυμνάσματα, συγκρίσεις, λόγοι, μελέται)[31], copiati in grafie individuali da mani anonime ma anche da personaggi altrimenti noti (Giorgio di Cipro, Massimo Planude, Nicola e Demetrio Triclinio, Giovanni Catrario e altri ancora fra i maggiori e i minori), sostanzialmente poco letti. Di tutti questi libri è arduo fornire un'interpretazione univoca: si tratta di libri di scuola? di libri di formazione personale? di libri copiati per sé, per il proprio gruppo di riferimento, per altri a noi ignoti committenti, magari coniugando alla passione per i classici quella per il denaro? Si consideri, ad esempio, quella vera e propria attività editoriale e di copia quasi seriale incentrata sul testo di Libanio che si può ricondurre al *milieu* tricliniano. Al momento almeno una decina di manoscritti, copiati dalle stesse mani, da sole o in collaborazione, è stata riferita ai già menzionati fratelli Demetrio e Nicola, a Giovanni Catrario, ma anche a personaggi che sono per noi poco più che un nome, come un certo Giovanni, una sigla, come il cosiddetto *scriba F*, un soprannome, come lo *scriba Hermippeus*: mani nel contempo di copisti, di filologi, di copisti–filologi, di scriventi per passione, professione e forse anche necessità, impegnate in un progetto le cui esatte fisionomia e destinazione sfuggono[32]. Ancora una volta non è facile stabilire se si trattò di libri d'uso di una singola persona, di una scuola, di una cerchia dotta, scritti per amore dei classici o per commissione (si ricordi che la copia di più esemplari di uno stesso testo è in genere considerata indizio di un'attività professionale). Tanto più che questi libri, che pure veicolavano un autore cardine nella formazione dei πεπαιδευμένοι del tempo, non sembrano aver suscitato letture troppo intense.

A fronte, dunque, di un patrimonio condiviso di testi dell'insegnamento superiore che rappresentavano un elemento di distinzione sociale, esisteva un patrimonio di libri 'moderni', prodotti da e per i membri di questa *élite*, le cui reali circolazione e lettura – a giudicare almeno dalle

[30] Canart 2010 e 2011; Bianconi 2015b; Pontani 2015a: 416–419; Nousia 2016.

[31] Su questa estrema fioritura retorica bizantina si vedano Constantinides 2003: 48–50 e Gaul 2011: 169–210 (quest'ultimo lavoro è anche importante per la circolazione in età paleologa degli autori antichi presi a modello).

[32] Bianconi 2005b: 180–181, 2005c: 2006, 2012, 2015b e 2016; utile anche Gaul 2011: 185–188.

tracce esibite da quei libri – sono state, nell'insieme, piuttosto limitate (la situazione, *mutatis mutandis*, non pare molto diversa da quella descritta da Ihor Ševčenko per la collezione metafrastica i cui circa 700 manoscritti noti – a detta dello studioso – a stento si riterrebbero letti o anche solo aperti)[33]. Il che, peraltro, risulta in perfetta sintonia con quella «mentalità libresca» che Guglielmo Cavallo ha individuato come costante dell'intero millennio bizantino: una mentalità – la ritroviamo in eruditi quali Giorgio Pachimere, Gregorio di Cipro, Niceforo Cumno, Massimo Planude, la cui dignità intellettuale e la cui rappresentazione sociale passano proprio attraverso la ricerca, la trascrizione, la lettura, il possesso di libri (per lo più classici) – che potrebbe fornire la giusta chiave interpretativa per questa altrimenti inspiegabile «accumulazione di libri»[34].

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Questa circostanza appare di estremo interesse allorché si voglia indagare sulla presenza dei classici in autori bizantini, in specie in coloro che, per mimesi arcaizzante, metodologia d'indagine e capacità d'analisi – si pensi a un Niceforo Gregora o a un Giovanni Cantacuzeno[35] – tradiscono una lunga frequentazione dei testi antichi. Da dove si devono ritenere desunte le allusioni, le citazioni, le riprese letterali dalle opere del passato ellenico che ne impreziosiscono gli scritti? Manoscritti 'moderni' di quelle opere, s'è visto, spesso addirittura vergati dai loro collaboratori, non mancavano, così come non mancavano sillogi e antologie 'scolastiche' che li raccoglievano e a cui quegli stessi autori potevano attingere. Alcuni eruditi poi ricorrevano frequentemente a manoscritti più antichi, non tanto – o non soltanto – perché spesso si trattava di esemplari da loro stessi 'riscoperti' cui era legata la 'riattivazione' di un determinato testo fino ad allora quiescente[36] – la conoscenza di autori largamente usati quali Libanio, Aristide, Luciano, Dione, Filostrato non conobbe interruzioni a Bisanzio –, quanto piuttosto, penserei, per uno scrupolo filologico, che li portava a rintracciare, vagliare e verificare su *codices anti-*

[33] Ševčenko 1981: 302.

[34] Cavallo 1981: 397–402, con le ulteriori considerazioni formulate in Cavallo 2006: 176–179.

[35] Hunger 1976.

[36] Sulla riscoperta paleologa e la riattivazione di testi fino ad allora negletti si vedano, di recente, Cacouros 2006a: 24–26, Pérez Martín 2006 e Bianconi 2010a e 2010b.

*qui* o *antiquiores* (se non addirittura *antiquissimi*), e perciò stesso, a torto o a ragione, ritenuti *optimi*, lezioni singolari o interi passaggi.

La lettura di un testo antico poteva dunque essere diretta – e, in questo caso, condotta su un cimelio prezioso o su un libro d'uso 'moderno' – oppure mediata attraverso strumenti di varia tipologia e natura. Individuare al riguardo una tendenza generale può, pertanto, riuscire operazione impropria.

Mi è già capitato di rintracciare nell'opera storica di Gregora espressioni e reminiscenze desunte da Plutarco, Polibio, e Filostrato verosimilmente attraverso la lettura di manoscritti antichi nei quali mi era riuscito di individuare la mano dell'erudito (il Laur. Plut. 69.6 delle *Vitae* plutarchee – ma i testimoni antichi di Plutarco passati per le mani dell'erudito sono assai più numerosi –, il Vat. Urb. gr. 102 di Polibio e il Laur. Plut. 69.33 di Filostrato)[37]. Si tratta di autori, del resto, ben rappresentati anche nel Pal. Heid. gr. 129, il celebre «autograph note-book»[38] nel quale Gregora raccolse un'immane, convulsa e caotica congerie di estratti da un'ottantina di autori classici e bizantini, riflesso, peraltro parziale, delle letture condotte all'interno del monastero di Cora e poi confluite nella sua produzione letteraria, in specie nella *Storia romana*[39]. Un lavoro protratto nel tempo, un quaderno di appunti, annotazioni, *excerpta* a uso personale, sul quale Gregora continuamente tornava, rifletteva, annotava, per aggiungervi i frutti di nuove letture[40]. Nello stendere e arricchire il proprio *Hausbuch*, l'erudito non fu sempre animato da una *ratio* o da un interesse precisi. Talora sembrerebbe essere stato piuttosto guidato dalle note che lettori precedenti avevano lasciato sui libri poi passati per le sue mani. Dove è stato possibile stabilire un legame tra gli estratti ricopiati nel codice di Heidelberg e i testimoni della 'biblioteca' del nostro,

[37] Bianconi 2003: 547 e n. 101, e 2011: 122–123 per Plutarco; Bianconi 2005a: 430–433 per Polibio; Bianconi 2008a: 340–343 per Filostrato. Una messa a punto sulla "biblioteca" di Gregora in Bianconi 2005a; non sono mancante da allora ulteriori attribuzioni alla mano dell'erudito: oltre a quelle qui presentate, alcune altre sono state segnalate, di recente, da Bianconi 2015a e Pérez Martín 2015.

[38] Diller 1956: 92, rist. 157; l'assegnazione del manoscritto a Gregora, proposta da Biedl 1948 e 1955: 83–85 e 104–105, è stata poi confermata da Ševčenko 1964: 447–450 e accolta negli studi successivi: una messa a punto in Bianconi 2005a: nr. 2, 412.

[39] Una descrizione manoscritta del contenuto del codice, con individuazione degli autori citati e/o escerpiti, è stata compiuta nel 1888 da Max Treu e si conserva nell'Heid. Hs. 1223; utile anche Pérez Martín 1993–1994: 20 nn. 2–3. Sul riuso da parte di Gregora dei materiali affastellati nel Pal. Heid. gr. 129 basti il rinvio a Ševčenko 1964: 449 e n. 51 e a Fryde 2000: 359–361.

[40] Si vedano Pérez Martín 1993–1994: 27 e, più di recente, Giacomelli 2014 e Losacco 2014: 61–70.

infatti, si è visto come in questi ultimi i passaggi poi riversati da Gregora nel Palatino erano stati già altrimenti segnalati da un σημείωσαι, un ὅρα, un ὡραῖον[41].

In altri casi e per altri autori, però, il Palatino recepisce antologie e raccolte di estratti già esistenti: le numerose citazioni che vi si leggono da Filone, Plutarco, Senofonte, Procopio, Platone, Luciano e, soprattutto, Strabone derivano dalla copia parziale della *Sylloge* messa insieme dal patriarca Gregorio di Cipro nell'Escor. X.I.13, nonostante siano tutti autori dei quali Gregora rivela una conoscenza di prima mano[42]. Si direbbe, dunque, che nella prosa di Gregora non solo ogni autore citato, ma direi ogni testo utilizzato se non addirittura ogni allusione presente fanno storia a sé.

Al mosaico già ricostruito da altri, vorrei qui aggiungere qualche nuovo tassello.

Nella *Storia romana*, VII, 7 parlando delle incursioni dei Catalani nella Grecia settentrionale, Gregora scrive:

> Οἱ δὲ Κατελάνοι τῶν Τούρκων ἤδη ἀπαλλαγέντες καθ'ἑαυτοὺς ἦσαν παραχειμάζοντες πρὸ τῶν ὀρῶν τοῦ τε Ὀλύμπου καὶ τῆς Ὄσσης, ὡς ἔφαμεν. ἔαρος δ' ἐπιστάντος ἄραντες ἐκεῖθεν διαβαίνουσι τάς τε τῶν ὀρῶν κορυφὰς καὶ τὰ ἐν τούτοις Τέμπη[43].
>
> [vale a dire: «i Catalani, dopo essersi separati dai Turchi, rimasero da soli a svernare, come abbiamo detto, davanti ai monti Olimpo e Ossa. Giunta la primavera, dopo essersi mossi di lì, attraversano le vette dei monti e la valle di Tempe che si trova in mezzo».]

Le vicende avvenute nella gola tessala durante l'inverno tra il 1308 e il 1309 dovettero certamente richiamare alla mente di Gregora e dei suoi lettori quelle del 480 a.C., allorché diecimila Ateniesi e Spartani cercarono di arginare l'avanzata dei Persiani guidati da Serse. Qui, però, sorprende non tanto la reminiscenza storico–letteraria, quanto lo scrupolo geografico che assume un carattere piuttosto concreto, nonostante

[41] Pérez Martín 1993–1994: 26 e Losacco 2014: 79–80 con altra bibliografia.

[42] Pérez Martín 1993–1994, 1996a: passim e 2012, 228; sugli *excerpta* da Strabone si vedano già Lasserre 1959: 46–48, Diller 1975: 68 e 93, e, ora, Bianconi 2015a: 259–260 e n. 117; nel codice dell'Escorial è presente, del resto, la mano dello stesso Gregora: Bianconi 2005a: 433–434 e tav. 12; per una concreta lettura del geografo da parte di Gregora si veda ora anche Bianconi 2015a: 260–262 e figg. 1–5.

[43] Schopen 1829: 249, 4–7; si veda anche van Dieten 1973: 193 e 292–293 n. 432.

dell'ubicazione della valle di Tempe tra l'Ossa e l'Olimpo parlino anche alcuni autori antichi ben noti a Gregora come, ad esempio, Strabone[44].

Dei tre più antichi testimoni della *Geografia* di Tolomeo provvista di mappe, da assegnare tutti alla prima età paleologa, il celeberrimo Vat. Urb. gr. 82 è probabilmente il più 'strepitoso', non soltanto per l'apparato di tavole che condivide con gli altri due esemplari, il Seragl. G. İ. 57 e l'Haun. Fabr. 23 2°, ma anche per il dispiego senza parsimonia di pergamena di ottima fattura, per l'uso di un briosa scrittura mimetica (che lo distingue nettamente dagli altri) e, non da ultimo, per la storia ulteriore e il ruolo che svolse nel veicolare le conoscenze geografiche in Occidente dove giunse, si sa, con Manuele Crisolora[45]. La presenza nei margini del manoscritto di alcune note di attenzione – nella specie di ση(μείωσ)αι di foggia piuttosto singolare – mi aveva già portato a ipotizzare che, tra quanti ebbero per le mani il prezioso cimelio, fosse anche Gregora. L'esiguità e la natura degli interventi mi avevano indotto a presentare dubitativamente la questione e a lasciarla, anzi, in sospeso[46], se non fosse che un'ulteriore traccia, per quanto anch'essa di modesta estensione, opportunamente considerata e contestualizzata, mi consente ormai di rompere gli indugi.

Nell'intercolunnio del f. 27v, all'altezza della r. 18 della seconda colonna, in relazione a III, 12, 16, 8 (Müller 1883, I, 504, 1), si legge la seguente nota [Tav. 6]:

Τέμπη | τὸ μέσ(ον) Ὄσσης | (καὶ) Ὀλύμπου.

[vale a dire: «Tempe sta tra l'Ossa e l'Olimpo».]

[44] Per non dire della "fortuna" in età bizantina: della vallata parla più volte Niceta Coniata nella sua *Narrazione cronologica*, ad esempio in XVI, 17, 23 (van Dieten 1975: I, 534, 60 = Pontani 2014a: 180, 23 e, per altre fonti e altra bibliografia, 525–526 n. 203).

[45] Oltre al classico Diller 1940, sui manoscritti della *Geografia* di Tolomeo si veda ora Burri 2013, part. 479–487 per il codice Urbinate e i riferimenti circa la sua storia. Riguardo alla ben nota questione delle mappe geografiche, vale a dire se Massimo Planude le abbia riscoperte – al riguardo, una messa a punto della bibliografia precedente, si trova in Pontani 2010 e 2012, che accoglie l'ipotesi del recupero – oppure se le abbia ricostruite *suo Marte* sulla base del testo tolemaico – come di recente sostenuto, tra gli altri, da Mazzucchi 2013 e 2014: 188 – la studiosa accoglie piuttosto quest'ultima ipotesi (Burri 2013: 522 n. 6).

[46] Bianconi 2005b: 114, dove si smentisce che il codice possa essere stato postillato da Demetrio Triclinio come sostenuto da Wilson 1981: 396.

Tav. 6: Vat. Urb. gr. 82, f. 27v

Nella mano sottile e nervosa cui si deve la postilla si riconosce quella di Gregora, già solo ove si presti attenzione al segno tachigrafico, sovradimensionato e sinuoso, per la congiunzione[47]; il riferimento alla valle di Tempe e, soprattutto, la presenza ravvicinata dei tre toponimi nel passaggio più sopra ricordato della *Storia romana*, pur prescindendo da ulteriori altre attestazioni letterarie, confermano l'attribuzione e, nel contempo, gettano luce sul modo di lavorare di Gregora. Nel testo della *Geografia*,

[47] Sulla scrittura di Gregora rimando a Bianconi 2005a: 406–409.

tra le coordinate dell'Ossa e dell'Olimpo, manca un esplicito riferimento a Tempe. È dunque probabile che Gregora, scrivendo della valle magari sulla scia di una suggestione e/o di una reminiscenza letteraria, abbia voluto verificarne l'esatta collocazione nell'opera che considerava di riferimento, e, non trovandovene traccia, si sia servito di uno spazio bianco del libro per appuntare, proprio tra l'Ossa e l'Olimpo, il nome di Tempe e completare così Tolomeo, oppure – ipotesi che ribalta diacronicamente la precedente ma non sposta nella sostanza i termini della questione – che egli, notando nel corso dello studio di Tolomeo l'assenza della valle di Tempe, di cui aveva un ricordo letterario o addirittura aveva già scritto nella *Storia romana*, abbia deciso di ovviare integrando il prezioso esemplare che possedeva e/o stava leggendo (nella biblioteca di Cora?)[48].

In un recente lavoro dedicato alla presenza di Elio Aristide nel monastero di Cora e, dunque, nei personaggi che in una qualche maniera vi gravitarono, Inmaculada Pérez Martin si è soffermata sulla citazione, nell'epistola 4, 60–67 che lo stesso Gregora indirizzò a un certo *protonotarios* Pepagomeno, di un passaggio dall'*oratio* 26, εἰς Ῥώμην, di Aristide[49].

> Σὺ μὲν γὰρ τὸν ἐς Ῥώμην Ἀριστείδου τοῦ ῥήτορος ἀναγινώσκων λόγον "ἔθος" εἶναι φάσκοντος "τοῖς πλέουσι καὶ ὁδοιποροῦσιν εὐχὰς ποιεῖσθαι, καθ' ὧν ἄν ἕκαστος ἐπινοῇ· ποιητὴς μὲν ἤδη τις εἶπε σκώψας εὔξασθαι κατὰ χρυσόκερω λιβανωτοῦ" καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς, τέτταρα φὴς ταυτὶ διηπορηκέναι. τίς τε ὁ τῇ χρείᾳ παραληφθεὶς ποιητής, καὶ τίς καθ' οὗ τὴν εὐχὴν γενέσθαι φησὶ "χρυσόκερω λιβανωτοῦ", καὶ πῶς τῇ "κατὰ" κέχρηται ὧδε προθέσει; καὶ τίς ἡ μεταξὺ παρενθήκη τοῦ "σκώψας";[50]
>
> [vale a dire: «Tu, infatti, leggendo il discorso *A Roma* del retore Aristide, il quale dice che "è costume per quanti vanno per mare e per terra fare voto su ciò che ciascuno abbia in animo: un poeta disse per scherzo di aver fatto un voto con incenso dalle corna dorate" e via di seguito, dici che i seguenti quattro punti ti lasciano perplesso: chi fu il poeta preso dalla necessità? chi dice che il voto fu su incenso dalle

[48] La composizione di questa prima parte della *Storia romana*, pur in assenza di date certe e di elementi incontrovertibili, sembrerebbe già avviata nel 1337 e conclusa nel 1351 (van Dieten 1973: 36–41 e Beyer 1978); l'episodio narrato si riferisce, come detto, al 1308/1309: all'interno del lungo periodo compreso tra il 1308/1309–1337 e il 1351 riesce piuttosto difficile, alla luce anche delle due opposte ipotesi qui presentate, datare la lettura da parte dell'erudito dell'Urb. gr. 82.

[49] Pérez Martín 2012: 227–228; sulla lettera si veda anche, almeno, Gaul 2011: 180–181.

[50] Leone 1982: 29.

corna dorate? come ha usato qui la preposizione κατά? e che cos'è la parentetica σκώψας?».]

Nella citazione, tra ποιητής e μέν, Gregora ha omesso οὖν. Si tratta, come rileva la stessa Pérez Martin, di un'omissione troppo banale perché possa essere ritenuta significativa[51]. E, tuttavia, questa omissione caratterizza alcuni testimoni della tradizione aristidea. Si ritrova in manoscritti quali il Laur. Plut. 60.8, di recente messo in relazione da Nigel Wilson con Massimo Planude[52], e il grosso modo coevo Laur. Plut. 60.7, esemplare che non ha suscitato particolare interesse tra gli studiosi e che viene ritenuto gemello – ma la cosa meriterebbe di essere approfondita – del celebre Vat. Urb. gr. 123, l'Aristide copiato dal *Metochitesschreiber* (forse) Michele Clostomalle[53]. In ragione della contiguità tra i libri di Planude e quelli di Gregora, la Pérez Martin ha ritenuto, sia pure cautamente, che l'omissione possa risalire proprio alla lettura da parte di Gregora del Laur. Plut. 60.8[54].

Il passaggio in questione, per l'uso del verbo εὔχομαι con la preposizione κατά e per l'espressione χρυσόκερω λιβανωτοῦ – che tanta perplessità avevano suscitato nel corrispondente Pepagomeno – si ritrova anche nell'*Ecloga* di Tommaso Magistro (Ritschl 1832, γ, 78, 9); e, del resto, il termine χρυσόκερως, per via della sua declinazione attica, ha goduto di una buona fortuna lessicografica (è per questo motivo che Tommaso Magistro lo cita, adducendo come esempio proprio il passo di Aristide). Sulla base di questi motivi Andrea Cuomo ha ipotizzato che Gregora – che parrebbe citare a memoria – abbia utilizzato, piuttosto che il Laurenziano dubitativamente indicato dalla Pérez Martin o un altro, analogo, libro di Aristide, un testo strumentale, lessicografico o paremiografico[55]. Occorre tuttavia ricordare, per quanto la cosa possa valere, che, a differenza di Gregora, Magistro non omette l'οὖν.

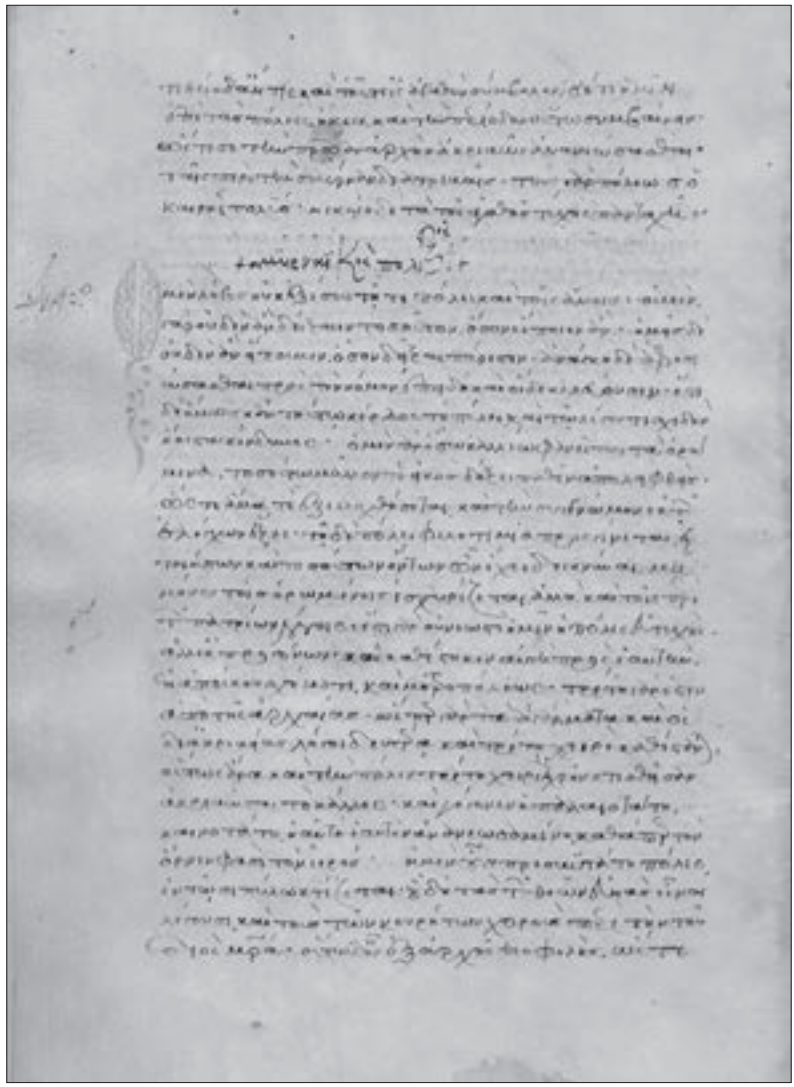
[51] Pérez Martín 2012: 227.

[52] Wilson 2008: 254–255; si vedano anche Quattrocelli 2006 e 2009 e, infine, Menchelli 2014.

[53] Pérez Martín 2012: 226–227; sull'Urbinate, oltre alla stessa Pérez Martín 2012: 219 e 225 e n. 44, si vedano soprattutto Prato 1991: I, 145, 147–148, rist. 128–131 – dove è l'attribuzione al *Metochitesschreiber* – e, più di recente, Menchelli 2000: 173–177 e Bianconi 2016, dove si propone di assegnare al copista di Metochita, e probabilmente allo stesso codice Urbinate che in testa e in coda reca alcuni discorsi di Dione Crisostomo, le *plagellae* dionee ora a Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library, Special Collections 468.

[54] Pérez Martín 2012: 227–228.

[55] Cuomo 2014: 320.



Tav. 7: Laur. Plut. 60.7, f. 25v

Dunque, lettura di prima mano o compulsazione di materiali strumentali? Almeno per un autore come Gregora, ritengo che la via da percorrere resti, in prima battuta, quella tentata dalla Pérez Martin, vale a dire quella dei libri, in questo caso di Aristide, letti dal nostro. Il testimone cui guardare non è però il Laur. Plut. 60.8 suggerito dalla studiosa, bensì l'altro codice Laurenziano, il Plut. 60.7. Quest'ultimo, infatti, a differen-

za del volume planudeo – e la cosa non mi risulta sia stata finora rilevata –, reca tracce di una concreta lettura da parte di Gregora, sia pure non in corrispondenza dell'*oratio* 26 citata nell'epistola a Pepagomeno. L'erudito, infatti, secondo una prassi che ormai sappiamo essere abituale[56], si è limitato ad apporre qualche titolo, come quello dello † Σμϋρναϊκὸς πολιτ(ικ)ὸς † attestato nel f. 25v. [Tav. 7] Disponiamo, dunque, di un manoscritto sicuramente letto da Gregora ed avente lo stesso testo da lui citato (senza il fatidico οὖν), sicché mi pare più economico non andare a cercare altre fonti 'scolastiche', per quanto verosimilmente non ignote a lui, al suo corrispondente e ai loro sodali. (Per inciso, la lunga citazione dallo stesso Σμυρναϊκὸς πολιτικός presente nella *Storia romana*, XXVII, 12 [Bekker 1855, 133, 20–134, 1], potrebbe forse derivare, a questo punto, dallo stesso Laur. Plut. 60.7, tanto più che proprio a questa orazione, s'è visto, Gregora ha apposto il titolo)[57].

Ma restiamo ancora sull'epistola 4, non per caso assunta da Gaul a paradigma della complessità del «Soziolekt»[58] dei πεπαιδευμένοι che frequentavano i θέατρα e le scuole d'età paleologa, e della difficoltà, per noi, di penetrarlo. Nel prosieguo della lettera (148–152), parlando del sacrificio χρυσόκερως, di vacche dalle corna dorate, Gregora scrive:

> Τήν γε μὴν χρυσόκερων ταύτην θυσίαν κἀν τῷ γάμμα τῆς *Ὀδυσσείας* ὑπὸ Νέστορος τελουμένην ὁμοίως εὑρήσεις, βοῦν δηλαδὴ χρυσόκερων, ὁπότε Τηλέμαχος, ὁ τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως παῖς, ὑπὸ τῆς Ὁμηρικῆς Ἀθηνᾶς κατὰ ζήτησιν ἀποδημῶν τοῦ πατρός, καὶ ἐς Πύλον εἰσάγοιτο τὴν πάτριον Νέστορος γῆν[59].
>
> [vale a dire: «Potresti trovare che anche Nestore nel terzo libro dell'*Odissea* compie un analogo sacrificio dalle corna dorate, chiaramente di una vacca dalle corna d'oro, allorché Telemaco, il figlio di Odisseo, partito alla ricerca del padre spinto dall'omerica Atena, giunge anche a Pilo, la patria di Nestore».]

Il riferimento al contenuto del terzo libro dell'*Odissea* è generico e vago: un qualsiasi studente, nemmeno troppo esperto, avrebbe potuto farlo, senza il bisogno di ricorrere non già a letture omeriche di prima mano,

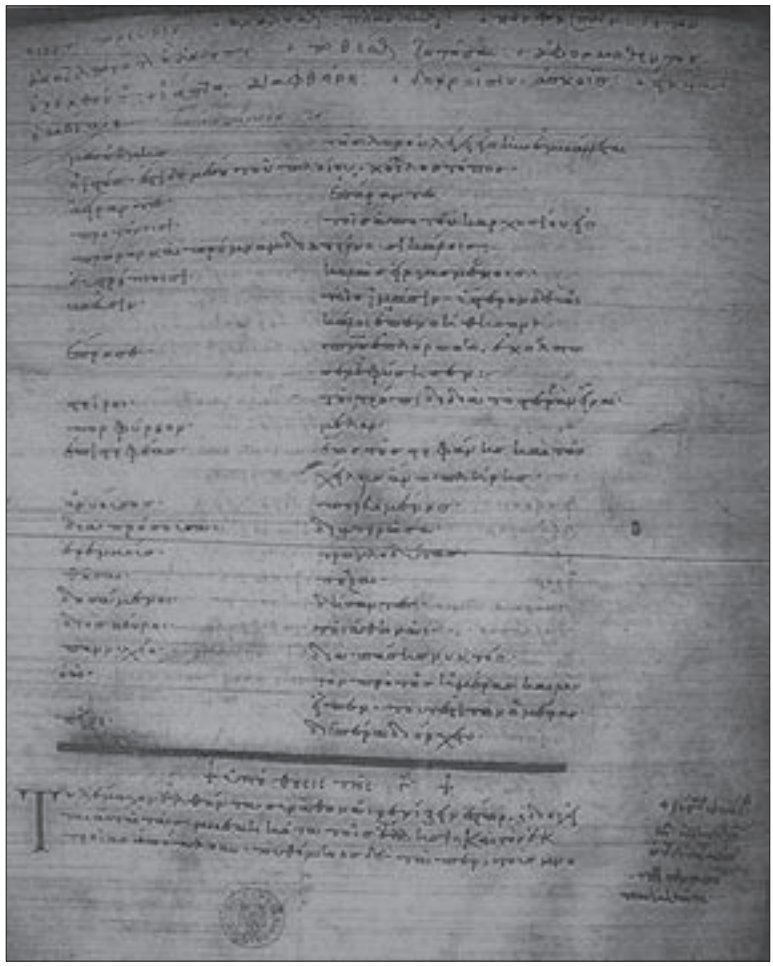
[56] Si veda ad esempio Bianconi 2005a 410–418 e 2008a: 428–434, e 341–344.

[57] Cuomo 2014: 320.

[58] Gaul 2011: 180.

[59] Leone 1982: 32–33.

ma a parafrasi, epitomi, strumenti vari. E, tuttavia, la questione non sembrerebbe doversi liquidarsi così semplicemente.



Tav. 8: Oxon. Bodl. Auct. V.1.51, f. 22r

Il codice della Bodleian Library, Auct. V.1.51, il più antico testimone degli *scholia minora* all'*Odissea*, va assegnato al tardo X secolo, pur se non, come si è ipotizzato, alla mano del Gregorio κουβουκλείσιος che nel 997 copiò il già citato Laur. Plut. 69.6 della *Vite* plutarchee[60]. Nel margine esterno del f. 22r, a fianco della ὑπόθεσις del terzo libro dell'*Odissea* – che

[60] Pontani 2005: 184–185 e n. 411 e tav. 4; Bianconi 2011: 118–119.

racconta all'incirca quanto riportato da Gregora nell'epistola a Pepagomeno – una mano seriore, intervenuta apparentemente in questo solo foglio[61], appunta i nomi di Nestore e della città di Pilo, quasi a sunteggiare ulteriormente il già scarno contenuto dell'argomento, annotando quanto segue [Tav. 8]:

> † Νέστωρ ἐν Πύλω | ἦν. ἡ δὲ Πύλο(ς) πόλ(ις) | ἐν τοῦ δυτικοῦ μέρους (*sic*)[62] | τῆς Πελοποννήσου, | πλησί(ον) Μεθώνης.
>
> [vale a dire: «Nestore era a Pilo, città sulla costa occidentale del Peloponneso, vicino a Metoni».]

Non si fa fatica a riconoscervi la scrittura dello stesso Gregora[63]. Ora, non si vuole certo dire che Gregora abbia appreso il contenuto del terzo libro dell'*Odissea* su questo venerando cimelio (chissà quante volte, nella sua vita di studente, insegnante ed erudito gli sarà capitato di leggerlo!). E tuttavia la corrispondenza tra la sua lettura del codice di Oxford e il ricordo, nell'epistola 4, del contenuto del terzo libro dell'*Odissea*, difficilmente potrà essere casuale. Si direbbe, anzi, che il ritrovamento e la lettura del codice possano aver riportato alla memoria dell'erudito l'episodio o che egli, al momento di rispondere a Pepagomeno, abbia voluto riscontrare il contenuto del libro omerico sul prezioso cimelio, allora giunto in suo possesso o capitato fra le sue mani.

L'epistola 4 di Gregora ben si presta, mi sembra, a esemplificare quell'ambiguità tra erudizione e didattica – a livello di ambienti, personaggi, libri e testi – di cui si è parlato all'inizio. Si tratta di un testo retorico scritto per un sodale e probabilmente destinato a una lettura, o comunque a una circolazione, in un θέατρον, nella quale si affrontano problemi, a livello di contenuto e grammatica, propri piuttosto di un ambito di scuola. Si ricordi, per un parallelo grosso modo coevo, l'epistola che Nicola Cabasila scrisse all'ostiario di Tessalonica Sinadeno nella quale, a margine della tematica principale – l'imperfezione dei santi del cristianesimo delle origini giacché sprovvisti di una salda παιδεία –, si disquisiva del corretto uso di τῇδε e di ἐνταῦθα: Cabasila, con il manuale di Ermogene in mano,

[61] Pontani 2005: 185 n. 413.

[62] Opportunamente Pontani 2007b: 3 corregge in ἐν τῷ δυτικῷ μέρει. Certo, alla luce dell'attribuzione qui proposta, il solecismo non può non sorprendere.

[63] Così già in Bianconi 2011: 118–119; Pontani 2005; 185, 2007a: XXXVII e 2007b: XXIX aveva riferito la mano, da lui indicata come V$^{02}$, al XII secolo, datazione riproposta in Pontani 2015b: XXVIII.

risponde alla critiche che gli erano state mosse da uno degli amici tessalonicesi cui Sinadeno aveva mostrato una sua lettera[64]; ma si ricordino anche numerose altre lettere dello stesso Gregora in cui si offrono spiegazioni di problemi grammaticali o matematici che presuppongono un sostrato comune tra autore e lettore (o lettori)[65]. Le *auctoritates* addotte da Gregora nell'epistola 4 – Elio Aristide e Omero su tutti, ma anche Eschilo, Euripide, Aristofane per espressioni aventi invero valore proverbiale (e dunque sicuramente non di prima mano)[66] – sono proprie, quasi per antonomasia, di un ambito di scuola. E, tuttavia, l'accesso ai due autori non pare filtrato dai consueti strumenti dell'insegnamento, ma maturato attraverso la lettura diretta e non mediata di testimoni, talora anche piuttosto antichi, di cui una lettura erudita, magari mossa da urgenze didattiche, poteva trasformare l'originaria destinazione.

[64] Enepekides 1953: nr. 7, 34–35 e nr. 8, 35–36; si veda ora Congourdeau 2010: nr. 10, 52–55 e nr. 11, 57–63; sulla lettera si veda anche Bianconi 2005a: 232–233. Sulla fortuna di Ermogene in età paleologa e su alcuni manoscritti nei quali la sua opera risulta associata ai *Caratteri* di Teofrasto – i quali pure, dunque, si prestavano a una lettura retorica negli ambienti scolastici e colti del tempo – riesce prezioso il contributo di Matelli 1989.

[65] Mergiali 1996: 80–81 e Cuomo 2013; sui vari canali e metodi traguardati all'acquisizione di una lingua letteraria si veda ora Giannouli 2014, con bibliografia.

[66] Leone 1982: 27–35 (apparato).

Inmaculada Pérez Martín*

# Aristides' *Panathenaikos* as a Byzantine Schoolbook: Nikephoros Gregoras' Notes on Ms. Escorial Φ.I.18

After the restoration of Chora by Theodoros Metochites in 1316–1321, the library of this Constantinopolitan monastery possessed a considerable number of manuscripts of Aelius Aristides.[1] This is explained by the interest that Metochites himself had in this orator,[2] the number of whose readers had increased after his writings became the "bedside book" of the patriarch Gregorios Kyprios († 1289).[3] Indeed, we can link some codices of Aristides to Chora in different ways, some more certain than others.[4] But the presence in them of the hand of Nikephoros Gregoras is a powerful argument in favour of this localization, particularly if the notes reflect his activity as curator of the library, as is the case of Neaples, Biblioteca Nazionale, ms. II.E.20.[5]

In a scholion to Ptolemy, *Harmonika*, 3.14, Gregoras explained the final gap that characterizes the principal tradition of the *corpus* of Aristides. According to this scholar, if the manuscripts did not contain *Hieros logos* VI (the last oratio of this group), it must have been due to the unexpected death of its author.[6] This is a somewhat naive or absurd

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1 I summarize here what I have explained in Pérez Martín 2012: 213–238.

2 The *megas logothetes* of Andronikos II wrote a literary essay on Aristides and his Athenian predecessor Demosthenes, ed. by Gigante 1969. See Day 1982.

3 See Ševčenko 1962: 26–27.

4 See Pérez Martín 2012: 225–227, where I mention Vat. gr. 1297 (Q), Vat. Urb. gr. 123 (U), Par. gr. 2952, and Cesena, Malatest. D.XXVII.3. Lenz – Behr 1976 have taken into account mss. Q and U in the apparatus criticus of their edition.

5 He included the title on f. 291. See Pérez Martín 2012: 229. On the manuscript, see Pérez Martín 2015: 123–160.

6 See Lenz – Behr 1976: LXVII n. 2. The scholion was reproduced from the Wallis edition (in 1683) by Boll 1894: 55–56. Gregoras explains there the loss of a chapter in the manuscripts because of the unexpected death of Ptolemy and goes on with similar cases among Greek writers: ὁποῖον δὲ καὶ Ἀριστείδης ὁ ῥήτωρ ἐπεπόνθει· τὸν γὰρ τελευταῖον

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comment, but it reveals that our scholar had tried to pinpoint the limits of the surviving *corpus* of Aristides. In fact, the most famous Aristidean *vetus* (ms. A: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 2951 + Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 60.3) does contain *Hieros logos* VI (Or. 52) followed by a mutilated copy of Or. 53 (*Panegyric on the water in Pergamon*). This suggests that Gregoras did not have access to ms. A, but did have others on hand which appeared to him to contain all the surviving works of Aristides. Thus, the Aristidean corpus accessible to him ended with the title of Or. 52 (*Hieros logos* VI), with nothing after it. This occurs in Laur. Plut. 60.8 (T), which contains Orr. 1–51 and whose copy comes to this abrupt end.[7]

Aelius Aristides is one of the many authors from whom Gregoras chose and transcribed some fragments in his notebook, Palat. Heidelberg. gr. 129.[8] But it is in San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Biblioteca del Real Monasterio, ms. Φ.I.18 (with the *Panathenaikos,* Aristides Or. 1) that he included annotations suggesting an attentive reading. This codex formed a unit with Escorial X.I.13 of Aristides (and many other texts),[9] in which we find brief additions in the hand of Gregoras, although not in the Aristides section.[10]

It is very possible that Gregoras had information about the origin of the manuscript he was annotating, copied shortly before 1289, the date of the death of Gregorios Kyprios, by the latter and a calligrapher collaborating with him (Scribe a). For the copy they used paper without a watermark, thick and cream-colored, measuring 305 x 220/5

τῶν ἱερῶν λόγων αὐτοῦ τελειῶσαι οὐκ ἔφθασεν οὐδ' ἐκεῖνος· ἐτελεύτησε γὰρ πρότερον νόσῳ χρησάμενος ἀπροσδοκήτῳ.

[7] On this manuscript, copied for Planudes and annotated by him, see Wilson 2009: 253–261. We know that Gregoras had access to this codex since Michael Klostomalles copied it into Ms. Cesena, Malatest. D.XXVII.3. In a different manuscript of Aristides copied by Klostomalles, Vat. Urb. gr. 123 (U), a contemporary hand $U^2$ adds *variae lectiones* from T; see Lenz – Behr 1976: XVIII and XLI.

[8] See Appendix 1, with the excerpts from the *Panathenaikos*. Other writings of Aristides in Gregoras' notebook are Or. 2–3, 16, 31, 23, 36, 5–9, 11–13, 15, 42, 45, 30. On the Heidelberg ms., see I. Pérez Martín, "Elio Aristides" cit., with further bibliography, to be completed with Giacomelli 2014: 217–241.

[9] Both manuscripts share lay-out and scribes. Besides, the *Panathenaikos* is usually the first discourse of the Aristidean corpus, copied either complete or partial. See Pérez Martín 1996a: 36–50; see also Bianconi 2005a: 433–434, who identified the handwriting.

[10] The order of the Aristidean excerpts in Palat. Heidelberg gr. 129 do not correspond to the selection of discourses in both manuscripts of El Escorial (Orr. 1, 3, 2, 4, 5–15); see Lenz – Behr 1976: LII. Gregoras certainly used one or more Aristidean manuscripts with discourses absent from El Escorial codices.

mm.[11] Gregorios Kyprios copied ff. 30r, l. 4–30v, 48r–55v and his partner ff. 1r–7r [7v vac] with the *Προλεγόμενα τῶν Ἀριστείδου λόγων*, and ff. 8r–30r, l. 4, 31r–47v, 56r–63v of the *Panathenaikos*.[12] They worked simultaneously and shared some tasks such as the copying of lemmata, scholia and titles. Or. 1 of Aristides is introduced in ff. 8–63v with the title *Ἀριστείδου ῥήτορος Παναθηναικός*, repeated at the end: *Ἀριστείδου Παναθηναικός*, as is usual in the Macedonian codices.

In the margins of the *Panathenaikos* we find several scholia transcribed by Scribe a, and the annotations not only of Nikephoros Gregoras but also of Gregorios Kyprios,[13] as well as, very briefly, those of Michael Klostomalles. He was perhaps requested to revise the text, a task which is reflected only in the addition of a few missing words on f. 10.[14]

It is natural enough to think that, in his reading of the *Panathenaikos*, Gregoras was looking not only for a refined text in Attic prose, but also for information about Ancient Greece.[15] His curiosity about this historical period, which he no doubt saw as part of the past of Byzantium, was satisfied not only by reading ancient historiography but also by the orators. The political and military history of the Greeks was the inspiration for Gregoras' own *Rhomaïke Historia* as well as for all types of thoughts and moral judgements expressed in his vast work.[16]

However, what is clear from the study of Gregoras' marginalia in the copy of the *Panathenaikos* in Escorial Φ.I.18 is far from being a reading from a specialist approach. He has accustomed us to notes giving the historical context of events and personalities, to corrections of the text, and

[11] ff. [I–III], 63, [IV–V] (I–V blank). The volume consists of 8 quires, currently without numbering: 7 ff. + 1 x iv + 9 ff. + 4 x iv + 7 ff. Each page shows 24–27 written lines, occupying 210/5 x 125/40 mm. The lay-out system is No. 11 Leroy, the lay–out type is 20D1n Leroy–Sautel.

[12] Scribe a's handwriting in Pérez Martín 1996a: plates 7–8 (Vat. gr. 74, another Aristidean codex), and ibidem, plate 3 showing the handwriting of Gregorios Kyprios in Escorial X.I.13.

[13] In some cases, I cannot be certain about the identity of the hand that made these additions. Nevertheless, Gregorios Kyprios probably did some kind of critical work on the text, adding *variae lectiones* γρ(ἀφεται) [but on the ambiguous value of the abbreviation γρ. see Wilson 2002: 242; Wilson 2008: 79–81), and correcting the mistakes made by Scribe a. See Appendix 2.

[14] On this f. 10, he fills in the gap θεαμάτων ἥδιστον, ἤπειρος ἐν νήσοις καὶ τούτων ἐνίων [ed. p. 11.10–11], and on f. 11v explains ἑκάστης [ed. p. 14.18]: ὥρας.

[15] Gregoras was the Byzantine scholar with widest knowledge on Ancient Greek history. See recently Pérez Martín 2015a: 175–193.

[16] Pérez Martín 2012: 227–228. The very title of the work was inspired by the title of Cassius Dio's *Roman History*.

to the development of mathematical or philosophical problems. But in the marginalia to the *Panathenaikos* we edit below, his historical explanations are limited to Nos. 26, 64f, and geographical details of the places mentioned to Nos. 56, 63, 81c. His notes are not only much more numerous than usual, but only on rare occasions do they correspond to the pattern described. Gregoras has completed the textual omissions in Nos. 13, 15, 39, 41, 55bis, 66, 69, 109, 125, and 149, which implies that he was using at least one other codex of Aristides, and he has added four *γράφεται* variants (Nos. 12, 55, 62, 89b). It is possible that some additions or corrections were taken from Ms. U, Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Urb. gr. 123 (Nos. 46, 58, 65) or from Ms. Q, Vat. gr. 1297 (No. 89b). But we get the impression that checking the codex against other versions and correcting or pointing out the differences was not his priority.

The greater part of Gregoras' notes are remarkable for their basic, even trivial, nature, as well as for their inconsistency: intense in some parts of the work, non-existent in others. The passages concentrating these Gregoras' almost-paraphrastic glosses (in fact, a small part of the work) deal with the mythological history of Athens (§ 42); the functioning of justice and, in particular, the Areopagus (§ 45–48, which also contains a sentence about the value of education); the virtues of Athens as a political power (§ 54 hospitality towards refugees, § 111 a model for posterity, § 235, § 245–247); the Spartan overthrow of Haliartus in 395 BC (§ 267–268);[17] the Athenian victories over the Persians (§ 272); the nature of imperial political power and the justification of the Athenian Empire (§ 306–308); and the pre-eminence of the Attic language (§ 326–328).

One of the main characteristics of the style of Aristides, namely the abundance of allusions to the detriment of precise information, can be explained in the historic context of his discourse; but for an "undocumented" or unprepared reader it presents yet another obstacle to the farrago and verbosity of Aristides's work. For this reason, we find numerous additions identifying a character whose identity can be deduced from the text (e.g. Oedipus in No. 16a, Homer in No. 132) or an institution such as the Areopagus (No. 139). To aid comprehension, this stylistic feature also makes it necessary to include references to demonstrative or relative pronouns: this is undoubtedly the most habitual of the glosses (No. 3 contains several examples), but it is also common to add or repeat the implicit words that cast light on the meaning (Nos. 7d, 9b, 53, 100c, 129b).

[17] A subject exploited by Gregoras in his *Rhomaïke Historia* vol. I, page 486 (ed. Schopen) and his letter 43 (ed. Leone).

Other additions suggest an educational or elementary use of the text, particularly No. 11, where Gregoras points out that *εἰρημένοις* is a form of the verb *λέγω*; or No. 27b, where above the preposition *πρὸς* he has added another two prepositions, *εἰς* and *σὺν*. Another example: the gloss of No. 71 *ἐδούλωσε* gives a transitive value to the middle-passive perfect *δεδούλωται*. But among this group of school glosses, those relating to vocabulary are much more numerous:

1) those giving equivalents in demotic Greek or more common synonyms (Nos. 8b, 9a, 60a, 61, 67, 68, 99d, 104, 107, 125),

2) those specifying the value of a word or expression (Nos. 1, 5, 6c, 6d, 6e, 7c, 8a, 19,[18] 40, 45, 82a, 85b, 92, 98c),

or 3) those suggesting words which would be equally in accordance with the text but not equivalent to the word commented. The latter give the impression of loosing the focus on Aristides and seeking to broaden vocabulary by bringing new terms into play: Nos. 22, 30, 33, 45, 49, 50 , 51, 52, 100a.

Finally, in some cases (Nos. 3e, 21, 60b, 87, 89a, 108d) Gregoras rewrites whole sentences to clarify their meaning, paraphrasing or developing the original. These additions may come from the scholia passed on together with the text (No. 18). The copy in El Escorial itself contains numerous scholia in the hand of Scribe a, and in some cases themselves contain the information that Gregoras wrote between the lines, with no pretense of originality.[19] Meanwhile, since the Dindorf edition is based on a few manuscripts selected without any particular criterion, it is pointless to compare with its texts Gregoras' additions: they do indeed coincide in some cases with the glosses and scholia gathered by Dindorf.[20]

Evidently Gregoras is not using the *Panathenaikos* for his own study of the history of ancient Athens. These intense, partial and trivial notes are intended to serve as an introduction for other people with less knowledge of the *koine,* the history of Athens, and its political virtues. We know that in 1321 Gregoras was the tutor of two of Metochites' chil-

[18] No. 19: προσέλαβον: συνεισήνεγκαν fort. Greg., where συνεισφέρω has a more specific, fiscal, meaning.

[19] No. 68: *τῶ σκηπτῶ : τῶ χειμῶ[νι]*; ὃν εἶπεν ἄνω χειμῶν, νῦν σκηπτόν sch. m[1]; cf. No. 72.

[20] The scholia to the *Panathenaikos* were edited by Dindorf 1829. Cf. No. 2: *ἐπ' ἀμφότερα*: *ἐπὶ νίκην καὶ ἥτταν* Gregoras: τὸ νικῆσαι καὶ ἡττηθῆναι mss. AC (Dindorf 1829: 59); No. 6e: *τὰ σπέρματα* : *αἱ ἀρχαὶ* Gregoras and mss. AC (Dindorf 1829: 64); No. 10 καὶ αὕτη : *διότι θεοὶ ἐδίκαζον* Gregoras [= sch. Dindorf 1829: 67.20–21 mss. AC]; no. 14 ἐπιτροπὴν: *προστασίαν* Gregoras and see sch. Dindorf 1829: 74,30: πρόνοιαν, προστασίαν, τὴν κηδεμονίαν ms. D. Or, more interestingly, No. 98a, indicating the irony of the sentence, but see sch. Dindorf 1829: 290,14–15: τοῦτο κατ' εἰρωνείαν.

dren, Irene and Nikephoros,[21] and we have seen that Klostomalles, the principal scribe working for Metochites in enriching the library of Chora, was involved in the notes in Escorial Φ.I.18. A copy of his, Vat. Urb. gr. 123, was probably used by Gregoras to correct the text of the *Panathenaikos*; similarly, he could resort to Vat. gr. 1297, probably copied in the Chora.[22] All of this makes it certain that the place in which Gregoras used the Escorial ms. as a schoolbook was the monastery of Chora, in other words, the residence of Metochites. Our teacher and librarian, at the beginning of his career, must have separated the *Panathenaikos* from the rest of the Aristides manuscript (Escorial X.I.13, on whose ff. 1–182, with Aristides's Or. 2–15, the hand of Gregoras does not appear), taking advantage of the happy chance that the end of Or. 1 coincided with that of a quire, and it was not necessary to dismember it to separate it from the rest. In this way he obtained a manageable text with which to teach Greek and Ancient history to the children of his patron. This was certainly an ambitious task, given the length of a text marked by repetitions and by the twists and turns in its treatment of Athens as a universal compendium of the virtues of society and of a manner of doing politics. This separation of the volume, giving Or.1 a separate destiny, has been perpetuated to the present day in the library of El Escorial.

## Nikephoros Gregoras' Notes in ms. Escorial Φ.I.18[23]

Abbreviations

a.c. = ante correctionem
add. = addidit

[21] See *PLP* 4443; Guilland 1926: 8–9, apud *RH* VIII. 5 (I 309, ed. Schopen): ἐδίδασκον γὰρ τόν τε υἱέα καὶ ἣν ἔφαμεν αὐτοῦ θυγατέρα, τὰ τῶν θύραθεν καὶ ἡμετέρων βιβλίων αἰνιγματώδη καὶ γρίφα διαλευκαίνων καὶ τὴν ἐκείνων νύκτα πρὸς ἡμέραν μεθαρμοζόμενος. ἦν γὰρ ἡ γυνὴ μεγαλοφυὴς ὁμοῦ καὶ φιλομαθής· τὸ μὲν δῶρον τῆς φύσεως εἰληφυῖα, τὸ δὲ τῆς γνώμης. On Nikephoros Lascaris Metochites, see *PLP* 17986; on Irene, Kaisarissa in 1326, *PLP* 5972.

[22] See Pérez Martín 2008: 452–453 and plates 14–15.

[23] The citations of the *Panathenaikos* follow the pages and *paragraphes* of the Lenz – Behr edition. The English translation is mainly from Oliver 1968: 1–223, but also from Behr 1986. The additions of Gregoras are in italics. Only if they are in the margins, we say it specifically (marg.). Their usual place is *supra lineam.* Because of last minute additions, we gave to some notes a number followed by "bis"; some of them (57bis, 59bis, 60bis and all the additions to f. 63) were made by Gregoras in orange ink.

fort. = fortasse
γρ. = γράφεται
Greg. = manu Nicephori Gregorae
i.l. = in lineam
marg. = in margine
m.1 = manus Scribae a
om. = omittit
p. c. = post correctionem
ras. = in rasura
secl. = seclusit
s.l. = supra lineam
suppl. = supplevit
A = Laur. Plut. 60.3
C = Laur. Plut. 59.15
D = Laur. Plut. 60.7
Q = Vat. gr. 1297
R = Vat. gr. 1298
T = Laur. Plut. 60.8
U = Vat. Urb. gr. 123
V = Marc. gr. VIII.7 (coll. 1069)
$Ph^M$ = Marc. gr. 451

(1) f. 12v § 22 [p. 16.14–15]: πῶς οὐκ ἂν ὀρθῶς εἴποι τις εἶναι τελέας καὶ πάσης τῆς οἰκουμένης οἱονεὶ μίμημα σωζούσης; "that one might rightly say that its advantages are those of a complete country which preserves, as it were, a faithful image of all the inhabitable world." εἶναι : *σχῆμα γῆς*.

(1bis) f. 14v § 31 [p. 19.4]: αἱροῦμαι τὸ τῇ φύσει δεύτερον: *τὸ γὰρ πρῶτον ἐλέχθη*

(2) f. 15 § 41 [p. 22.5] ἐπ' ἀμφότερα: *ἐπὶ νίκην καὶ ἥτταν*.

(3) f. 15 § 42 [p. 22.10–12] ὁ δὲ ταῖς ναυμαχίαις οὐ μόνον τοὺς ἀνταγωνιστὰς νικᾶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς τῶν αὐτῶν μετασχόντας. οἶμαι δὲ καὶ οἷς ὅλως ἀγῶνες καὶ νῖκαι ναυτικαὶ γεγόνασιν. "(Poseidon) granted superiority in naval battles, not only over their opponents but over their partners, indeed, I think, beyond any who at any time or place have fought and won battles at sea". a) ναυμαχίαις : *ἔδωκε* [cf. e)]. b) ἀνταγωνιστὰς : *Λακεδαιμονίους, Αἰγινίτ(ας)* [sic]*, Κορινθίους* m1. c) below, in a smaller handwriting, Greg. points out: *τοὺς ἠπειρώτας* and further: *ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ναυτικήν*. d) τῶν αὐτῶν : *τῶν Ἀθηναίων κοινωνήσαντας κατὰ τὴν χρείαν* m1$^{s.l.}$ and below Greg. add. *τῶν ναυτικῶν*, and again, under τῶν αὐτῶν : *τῶν ὁμοίων τοῖς πολεμίοις*. e) οἶμαι – γεγόνασιν : *τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ὁ Ποσειδῶν ἔδωκε νικᾶν.*

(4) f. 15v § 45 [p. 22.26–23.1] Οὐ μόνον δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως θεοὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἤρισαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὧν ἤρισαν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἐν τῇδε τῇ πόλει τὰς κρίσεις ἐποιήσαντο. "Not only for the city did gods dispute with one another, but here in the city they actually sought adjudications of their disputes with one another". a) ὧν : *ἄλλων ἕνεκα*. b) ἐποιήσαντο : *πρὸς ἀλλήλους*.

(5) f. 15v § 45 [p. 23.3] δείγματα : *παραδείγματα*.

(6) f. 15v § 45 [p. 23.5–8] οὕτω κἀκεῖνοι τέλειοι τὴν γιγνομένην ἀρετὴν ἀποβαῖεν, οἷς χρῆν ἑπόμενοι, καὶ μὴ μόνον τῶν πυρῶν καὶ κριθῶν εἴη τὰ σπέρματα αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἁπάσης διαίτης τε καὶ πολιτείας ἐκ θεῶν αὐτοῖς εἴη τὰ σπέρματα. "those men also might turn out perfect in a fitting virtue by following the proper teachers, and that they not only have the seeds of wheat and barley, but that they also have from the gods the seeds of justice and every other means of life and government." a) κἀκεῖνοι : *οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι*. b) οἷς : *ἤγουν τοῖς θεοῖς*. c) τὰ σπέρματα αὐτοῖς : *αἱ ἀρχαὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐκ θε(ῶν)*. d) διαίτης : *διαγωγ(ῆς)*. e) τὰ σπέρματα : *αἱ ἀρχαὶ*.

(7) f. 15v: § 46 [p. 23.8–12] καὶ λαγχάνει Ποσειδῶν Ἄρει τὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ παιδὸς καὶ νικᾷ ἐν ἅπασι τοῖς θεοῖς, καὶ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ὁ τόπος λαμβάνει τὴν αὐτὴν τοῦ τε συμβάντος σύμβολον καὶ δικαιοσύνης ὥσπερ ἄλλο τι μαρτύριον καὶ πίστιν εἰς ἀνθρώπους. "Poseidon was granted the action concerning his son against Ares and won it in a court of all the gods; the site received therefrom its present name, which itself was a symbol both of the event that had occurred and of justice, some general attestation and guarantee, as it were, to mankind." a) ἅπασι : *κριταῖς*. b) τὴν αὐτὴν : *Ἄρειος πάγος λέγεται*. c) σύμβολον : *μνημεῖον*. d) ἀνθρώπους : *λαμβάν(ει)*.

(8) f. 16: § 47 [p. 23.16] καὶ τοσούτῳ τετίμηται παρὰ πάντων τῷ συγκεχωρηκότι, ὥσθ' οἱ μὲν ἡττώμενοι στέργουσιν "(the Areopagus) has been honored with such great deference by all, that those who lose their cases are content". συγκεχωρηκότι : *τῷ ἐνδοσίμῳ*.

(9) f. 16: § 47 [p. 23.19–21] καὶ μεταβολὴ τοῦ χωρίου τούτου μόνου ἤδη σχεδὸν οὐχ ἥψατο, οἷα δὴ τὰ ἀνθρώπινα, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἀγωνιστήριον τοῖς θεοῖς ἀνεῖται καὶ οἷς ἐξ ἐκείνου καθήκει καὶ πάντες παράδειγμα δικαιοσύνης νομίζοντες οὕτω τιμῶσιν αἰδοῖ τῶν θεῶν. "On this one site [the Areopagus] alone, I suppose, change has not fastened in the case of human institutions. It has been left as an assembly place for the gods and for those who have had the duty since that time, and all, considering it a model of justice, honor it accordingly in awe of the gods." a) ὥσπερ : *καθό*. b) ἀνεῖται : *ἀμετάβλητ(αι)*. c) ἐκείνου : *τοῦ χόρου*.

(10) f. 16: § 48 [p. 24.2–6] ἑτέρα δὲ γίγνεται κρίσις ὕστερον μικτὴ τοῖς ἀγωνισταῖς, θεία δὲ καὶ αὕτη τοῖς δικασταῖς, ἣν ἀγωνίζεται τῶν Πελοπιδῶν

ἀνὴρ δυστυχῶν πρὸς τὰς νῦν προσοίκους τῷ τόπῳ θεὰς σεμνάς, καταφυγὼν καὶ δοὺς ὥσπερ ἔφεσιν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ὡς ἐνταῦθα, εἴπερ που τὴν δικαίαν φιλανθρωπίαν οὖσαν, καὶ τυχὼν τῆς θεοῦ τῶν μανιῶν ἀπαλλάττεται. "There occurred another trial later, where the contestants were mixed but the jurors were also gods, in which an unhappy man of the house of Pelops stood against the dread deities who now dwell beside the spot where he took refuge and made, as it were, an appeal to the city and the thought that here, if anywhere, existed the philanthropy wich was not unjust and, obtaining the support of the goddess, rid himself of the furies". a) ἀγωνισταῖς : *τοῖς κρινομένοις, θεαὶ γὰρ καὶ ἄνθρωπος.* b) καὶ αὕτη : *διότι θεοὶ ἐδίκαζον*. c) τοῖς δικασταῖς : *τοῖς θεοῖς*. d) ἀνὴρ : *Ὀρέστης*. e) τῆς θεοῦ : *τῆς Ἀθήν(ης).*

(11) f. 16: § 49 [p. 24.10]: εἰρημένοις : *λέγω* fort. Greg.

(12) f. 16v: § 50 [p. 25.5]: κατὰ συμφορὰς: καὶ (ms. a.c.) συμφορὰς : *γρ. κατὰ συμφορὰς.*

(13) f. 17: § 53 [p. 26.13]: a) μετ' αὐτῶν : *τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν*. b) καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν : om. ms. et suppl. fort. Greg.

(14) f. 17: § 53 [p. 26.14]: ἐπιτροπὴν : *προστασίαν* fort. Greg.

(15) f. 17: § 53 [p. 26.20]: ὥσπερ : om. ms. et suppl. fort. Greg.

(16) f. 17r–v: § 54 [p. 27.10–13]: τοῦτο μὲν οἱ περὶ Θήβας ἀτυχήσαντες καὶ πάσης τῆς Βοιωτίας συνεκπεσόντες, τοῦτο δὲ Θετταλῶν οἱ ταύτῃ τραπόμενοι καὶ Ταναγραίων οἱ μεταστάντες, Δωριέων Πελοποννήσου κρατησάντων, ὑπὸ τῶν εἰξάντων ἀναστάντες· οὗτοι δ' ἦσαν Ἰωνία πάντες. "this was the case of those who met disaster at Thebes and were banished together from all Boeotia. This was the case of others, the routed Thessalians who took refuge here, and the Tanagraeans who migrated when they were driven out by men who themselves had withdrawn in face of the Dorians who conquered the Peloponnese. All these refugees made up Ionia" a) Θήβας : *τὸν Οἰδίποδα λέγ(ε).* b) Ταναγραίων : <τοὺς>Ἴωνας *λέγ(ε)· Ταναγραῖοι δὲ λέγεται ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἧς ὤκησαν, Τάναγρα γὰρ* et marg. *Τάναγρα πόλις Βοιωτίας.* c) Δωριέων Πελοποννήσου : *τίνος πράγματος γενομένου.* d) ὑπὸ τῶν εἰξάντων ἀναστάντες : [f. 17v] *ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀχαίων τ(οῖς) δωριεῦσιν ἀναστατωθέντες.* e) οὗτοι δ' ἦσαν Ἰωνία πάντες : *οἱ ἀναστατωθέντες Ταναγραῖοι, ἦσαν ἡ πρώτη Ἰωνία :* marg. *Δωριεῖς · Λακεδαιμ<ονίοι>. Οἱ Δωριεῖς ἐξῆλασαν τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς ἐκ Πελοποννήσου, οἱ δ' Ἀχαιοὶ εἴξαντες Δωριεῦσιν, ἐξῆλθον. καὶ ἐλθόντες ἐξήλασαν ἐκ τῆς νῦν Ἀχαίας τοὺς Ἴωνας, ἀποίκους ὄντας τῶν Ἀθηναίων.*

(17) f. 17v: § 57 [p. 28.15] αὐτὴν: *τὴν Βοιωτίαν* (et deinde secl. al. m.).

(18) f. 19 § 67 [p. 31.20–21]: τὴν συνέχειαν τῆς πολιτείας, ἣ κέχρηται. "the consistency of the policy which the city has followed in respect to the Hellenic world". συνέχειαν : *τὸ ἀεὶ τῆς εὐεργεσίας* m1s.l. et deinde *ἡ γὰρ πολιτεία τῶν Ἀθηναίων διόλ(ου) εὐεργεσία ἦν* add. Greg.

(19) f. 19v § 72 [p. 33.3]: προσέλαβον: *συνεισήνεγκαν* fort. Greg.[24]

(20) f. 20 § 73 [p. 33.5–6]: πρὸς τὴν παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων εἶναι χάριν ("the city has a claim on the gratitude of the Hellenes") : *εἶναι πρὸς τὴν περὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων χάριν*.

(21) f. 20 § 74 [p. 33.17]: ἀφορμῶν εἵνεκα : *διὰ τὰς ἀφορμὰς ἃς ἔσχον παρὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἤτοι τὰς τῆς εὐπορίας* marg. Greg.

(22) f. 20 § 75 [p. 34.5] συμπίπτει: *συμβαίνει* s.l. fort Greg., deinde secl. et add. *συμφωνεῖ*.

(23) f. 21 § 80 [p. 35.7–9] ὡς γὰρ ἤκουσαν τοὺς ὑπὸ τῇ Καδμείᾳ δυστυχήσαντας ἀτάφους ἐρρίφθαι, οὐ φοβηθέντες τὴν ὕβριν τῶν ταῦτα τετολμηκότων οὐδ' οἷα βουλευόμενοι περὶ ὧν, ἂν κρατήσωσιν, ἐπίασιν, [...]. "For when they learned that those who had met misfortune beneath the Cadmea had been thrown on the ground and left unburied, the Athenians did not fear the ruthless violence of those who had deliberately committed this outrage *nor did they worry as they fought for unfortunates, what kind of intentions for their own victims the latter had in case of victory*."[25] a) οὐδ' : *οὐδὲ φοβηθέντες*, Gregoras feels the necessity of repeating the participle. b) ἐπίασιν : *οἷα ἐπέρχονται τοῦ*.

(24) f. 21 § 81 [p. 36.7] τῶν δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ βιάζεσθαι: *τῶν δὲ ἀνδρείων καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀδίκων*.

(25) f. 22v § 91–92 [p. 39.16–40.4] τριῶν γὰρ ἐθνῶν τῶν μεγίστων ἐν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐπιθεμένων τῇ πόλει, τὸ μὲν αὐτῷ φυγῆς τιμῆσαν ἀπῆλθε, τὸ Δωρικὸν, Βοιωτοὶ δὲ χερσὶν ἠττῶντο, καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας Εὐβοεῖς ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ· τοσοῦτον περιῆν τῇ πόλει· ἀλλ' ἵνα μὴ πολλὰ τοιαῦτα λέγων πόρρω τοῦ καιροῦ γένωμαι: *μία αὕτη* [fort. *ταύτη* pc] *ἡ ὑπόθεσις ἐξ ὧν παραλιμπάνει ἐστίν· δεικνύει γοῦν ὡς καὶ αἱ ἕτεραι ὅμοιαι εἰσὶ κατὰ περιφάνειαν ἀλλ' ἀφίησιν αὐτὰς μὴ πόρρω τοῦ καιροῦ γένηται* "This is only one incident as preliminary of the rest of the work. In fact, (Aristides) shows that there are other records of equal prestige but he leaves them aside in order not to use up the time". Cf. § 90.

(26) f. 22v § 91 [p. 40.1]: τὸ Δωρικὸν : *τὸ Σπαρτιατικόν*.

(27) f. 22v § 92 [p. 40.4–6] παρεὶς ἅπαν τὸ μέσον καὶ προσχρησάμενος καὶ πρὸς αὐτό γε τοῦτο τῇ τῆς πόλεως μεγαλοψυχίᾳ καὶ δὴ πρὸς αὐτὰ τὰ

[24] This note and no. 21 are written in a dark ink.

[25] Reiske mended the transmitted βουλευομένοις or βουλομένοις into βουλευόμενοι, since the dative could be the necessary consequence of ἐπίασιν. To make depend βουλευόμενοι on the subject, the Thebans, makes sense here. Indeed not only Gregoras but other readers before him had already noticed the ellipsis – and as a matter of fact a later reader of Escorial ms. crossed out his words. See sch. Dindorf (mss. AC): ἤγουν οὐδ' οἷα κατὰ γνώμης αὐτῶν ἐπέσχετο ποιεῖν πρὸς τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτῶν κατενεχθέντας. λέγει δὲ ἀτάφους ἐᾶν.

κύρια τοῦ λόγου τρέψομαι. "I shall omit all the intervening material, and in respect of this very matter I shall take further advantage of the city's magnanimity and turn to the main illustrations of the argument themselves". a) προσχρησάμενος : *παραχρησάμενος καὶ παρείς*. b) πρὸς : *εἰς σὺν*.

(28) f. 22v § 92 [p. 40.8]: ἄμφω τὼ γένη : *τὸ ἑλληνικὸν καὶ τὸ βαρβαρικόν*.

(29) f. 22v § 92 [p. 40.9]: a) τὸ μὲν : *τὸ ἑλληνικόν*. b) τὸ δὲ : *τὸ βαρβαρικόν*.

(30) f. 22v § 92 [p. 40.10]: χεῖρον : *ἄνανδρον*.

(31) f. 24v § 106 [p. 45.3] ὑπερβαλόντες δὲ οὐκ εἶχον ὅ τι ἴδωσιν, πλὴν τῶν πολεμίων καὶ τῶν ἀτόπων ἐκείνων φασμάτων. "And when the Athenians had crossed the ridge, they saw those strange and hostile figures everywhere they looked". ὑπερβαλόντες : *παρελθόντες τὸ πλέον τῆς ὁδοῦ*.[26]

(32) f. 25 § 109 [p. 46.13–14] ὥστε οἱ τοῦ αἵματος ῥύακες ἤρκουν ἐν νοτίῳ ταῖς ναυσὶν εἶναι. "so that the streams of blood sufficed to float their ships onto the high sea". ἐν νοτίῳ : *ἐν ὑγρῷ ὥστε πλεῖν* fort. Greg.

(33) f. 25v § 111 [p. 47.9] νεανικώτερον : *ἀλαζονικώτερον*.

(34) f. 25v § 111 [p. 47.12] προτελεσθεῖσα : *προγυμνασθεῖσα*.

(35) f. 25v § 111 [p. 47.13] τοῦ τῶν Ἑλλήνων σπέρματος : *τοῦ εἶναι Ἕλληνας*.

(36) f. 25v § 111 [p. 47.14] ἣν : *τὴν μάχην*.

(37) f. 28v § 131 [p. 55.12] χειμάρρους : *γρ. χειμάρρους ὅπέρ ἐστιν εὐθ(ὺ) τῶν ἑνικῶν* fort. Greg.

(38) f. 31 § 143 [p. 61.2] τὸ θαυμάζεσθαι ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὄνομα : *οὐδὲν ἕτερον* add. fort. Greg.

(39) f. 31 § 144 [p. 61.6] καταλειφθέντας om. ms. et suppl. Greg. marg.

(40) f. 32v § 154 [p. 64.15] προβαλέσθαι : *ἐνδοθῆναι*

(41) f. 32v § 154 [p. 65.1] μέγιστα om. ms. et suppl. fort. Greg.

(42) f. 32v § 156 [p. 65.7–8] τό γε γνῶναι τὸ μόνον μέλλον διασώζειν ἅπαντα τὰ πράγματα, τὴν σοφίαν λέγω, δι' ἣν καὶ τῆς ὑπὸ πάντων ἐν τοῖς λόγοις τιμωμένης τοῖς ἄρχουσιν εὐπειθείας τοὺς πώποτ' ἐνίκησαν τῷ δόγματι. καὶ οἱ μὲν οὕτως ἀπεσκευασμένοι πρὸς τῇ Σαλαμῖνι κατεῖχον τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ὁ δὲ ἀμφοτέρᾳ τῇ χειρὶ παρῆν, ἄγων τοὺς μέχρι τῆς Ἀττικῆς Ἕλληνας ὁμοῦ καὶ βαρβάρους. "This I call the wisdom through which they surpassed all who have ever lived at any time, by decreeing loyal obedience to their commanders, the discipline that all honor in telling the story [although all give lipservice to obedience to one's rulers (Behr)]. Having packed up and

[26] This is also the meaning for the scholiasts: τὸ μέσον τῆς πορείας A, ἤγουν πρὸς τὸ τέλος τῆς πορείας φθάσαντες ὧδε C : παρὰ τοὺς πολέμους ἐλθόντες D. It makes more sense, since in the previous sentence says "when (the Athenians) were halfway on their march" (μεσοῦντας ... ἔτι τῆς πορείας προσέβαλεν).

left in this fashion, the Athenians kept the Hellenes at Salamis, but Xerxes arrived with both arms of his forces, having among his troops the Hellenes as far as Attica along with the Barbarians." a) πράγματα : *τίς ὅμοιος δηλονότι.* b) τῷ δόγματι : *ἔδοξε γὰρ αὐτοῖς ὑποταγῆναι λάκωσι.* c) ὁ δὲ, ἀμφοτέρα : *τό, τε πεζὸν καὶ τὸ ναυτικόν.* d) ὁμοῦ : *τοὺς συμμαχοῦντας αὐτῷ λέγει* fort. Greg.

(43) f. 33 § 160 [p. 66.8] a) ἐξειργόμενοι : *οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι.* b) αἱ τριήρεις : *αὐτῶν.*

(44) f. 33 § 160 [p. 66.15] κάλλιστα δὴ τῶν ὑφ' ἡλίῳ μάρτυρι καὶ τολμήσαντες καὶ τελεσάμενοι. τῶν : *γινομένων* fort. Greg.

(45) f. 33v § 160 [p. 67.6] ἐκείνῃ δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ αὐτῆς ὑστέρησαν τῆς τροπῆς οἱ συντελεῖς. συντελεῖς : *οἱ συναρίθμιοι.*

(46) f. 33v § 163 [p. 67.13] ἄξιον δὲ καὶ τῆς ἐπιθήκης τῶν κακῶν τοῖς βαρβάροις μνησθῆναι. τῶν κακῶν : *τῶν γενομένων* add. Greg., ut $UPh^{M3}$.

(47) f. 35v § 179 [p. 72.16] ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἀναλωμάτων σώζειν. ἀναλωμάτων : *οἰκείων* fort. Greg.

(48) f. 35v § 181 [p. 73.7] τὸ καὶ αὐτοὺς ὑπὲρ σφῶν αὐτῶν τὴν ἀξίαν προσθέσθαι ψῆφον "the Athenians added their just endorsement of themselves": *ὅτι οὐκ ἐδέξαντο* (sc. the proposal of Mardonius).

(49) f. 37 § 190 [p. 76.5] κοινὴν ἔχον παράκλησιν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν εἵς τε ὁμόνοιαν. παράκλησιν : *παρακίνησιν* fort. Greg.

(50) f. 37 § 191 [p. 76.17] πανταχῇ : *κατὰ πλάτος καὶ μῆκος* fort. Greg.

(51) f. 37v § 193 [p. 77.13] ἐπίβασιν : *θεμέλιον καὶ πάτημα.*

(52) f. 37v § 194 [p. 77.21] τὸ φύσει γνώμην ἀνάγκης κεχωρίσθαι "judgment is a thing naturally distinct from compulsion". γνώμην : *προαίρεσιν* fort. Greg.

(53) f. 37v § 194 [p. 77.25] ὀφειλόμενον : *τὸ ἀμύνασθαι.*

(54) f. 37v § 195 [p. 78.2] σχῆμα : *τὸ ἀντεπεξελθεῖν.*

(55) f. 38 § 197 [p. 78.15] ὥσαιντο : γρ. *ὕσαιτο.*

(55bis) f. 38v § 200 [p. 79.10] <*θαυμαστὴν*> *δὲ ἐπεδείξαντο ὡς ἀληθῶς* om. ms. et add. marg. Greg.

(56) f. 39v § 209 [p. 82.6] θαλάττης δ' ἀφέξειν : *ἄνω πρὸς Χέρσον.*

(57) f. 40 § 213 [p. 83.9–84.2] τὸ γὰρ ἐν πολέμῳ καὶ φιλονικίᾳ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πρὸς αὐτὴν καθεστηκότων τῆς ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων προνοίας μηδὲν μᾶλλον ἀφεῖσθαι, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῇ συμφερόντων βασιλεῖ πολεμεῖν διὰ γῆς ἁπάσης καὶ θαλάττης πόσῃ τινὶ χρὴ τῇ μεγαλοψυχίᾳ προσθεῖναι, χωρὶς τοῦ τοσαῦτα μερισθῆναι καὶ πάντων ὡς μόνων ἑκάστων ἐφικέσθαι, τῆς μὲν γνώμης τὴν ἀνδρείαν, τῆς δὲ παρασκευῆς τὴν ὑπερβολὴν παρέχειν θαυμάσαι; "for consider that when the Hellenes were at war with her (Athens) and in rivalry, she never relaxed her vigilance in behalf of the Hellenes, but, in behalf of the common interests, continuously fought the King on every

land and sea! How stupendous was the greatness of spirit to which one must attribute this! Besides, the fact that she was torn in so many directions and achieved all aims as if each had been her only aim gives reason to admire the courage of her resolve and the perfection of her preparation". a) ἀφεῖσθαι : *ἀπολελύσθαι*. b) post ἐφικεῖσθαι add. *καὶ χωρὶς τοῦ παρέχειν θαυμάσαι.* Behr acknowledges the difficulties, even if the sense is clear.[27] c) παρασκευῆς : *ὅτι καὶ πρὸς Ἕλληνας καὶ πρὸς βαρβάρους ἐξήρκουν*.

(57bis) f. 40 § 213 [p. 84.3–5] καὶ τοῖς ἐνοχλοῦσι τῶν Ἑλλήνων οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ὑπῆρχε χρήσασθαι τῷ καιρῷ "those of the Hellenes who were giving trouble had no better opportunity to exploit the occasion"; a) τοῖς ἐνοχλοῦσι : *τοῖς πολεμίοις Ἕλλησι.* b) χρήσασθαι : *πρὸς ἑαυτῶν ὄφελος*. c) τῷ καιρῷ : *τῇ εὐκαιρίᾳ ὡς ἐκείνοις ἐδόκει*.

(58) f. 40v § 216 [p. 85.7] a) *τά γε* : *δὴ* add. s.l. (et $U^2$). b) ταῦτα : *τὰ ὕστερα*.

(59) f. 41 § 217 [p. 85.15] τοὺς ἀγωνιστὰς αὐτοὶ προσαναγκάζοντες ἐν Ἰσθμῷ: *τοὺς τὰ Ἴσθμια ἀγωνιζομένους* fort. Greg.

(59bis) f. 41 § 219 [p. 86.2] περιέπτυξεν : *περιέκλεισεν.*

(60) f. 41v § 222 [p. 86.23–24] ὃ καὶ τοὺς παρόντας ἔλυσεν φόβους τῇ Λακεδαιμονίᾳ καὶ δίκην λαβεῖν εἰσαῦθις παρεσκεύασεν αὐτῶν "(the Athenian demos) both liberated the Lacedaemonians from the terrors of the moment and enabled them to exact punishment again". a) εἰσαῦθις : *μετέπειτα* fort. Greg. b) παρεσκεύασεν : *ἡ πόλις αὐτοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐξ*. c) αὐτῶν : *τῶν περιοίκων*.

(60bis) f. 41v § 225 [p. 87.5–6] καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐσπείσατο ἀλλ' ἐνήλλαξεν. ἐκείνων. a) καὶ : *οὕτω.* b) ἐκείνων : *τῶν βαρβάρων.*

(61) f. 42v § 230 [p. 89.9] (συγγραφῆς) ψιλῆς : *λεπτομεροῦς.*

(62) f. 42v § 230 [p. 89.10] πεντετηρίδα : *γρ. καὶ πεντετηρίδα.*

(63) f. 43 § 233 [p. 90.17] ἕτερον στόλον πέμπειν : *εἰς Σικελίαν.*

(64) f. 43v § 235 [p. 91.16–92.5] οἱ δ' οὕτω μετέστησαν τὰ πράγματα, ὥσπερ ἁπάντων τούτων ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' οὐ κατ' αὐτῶν γιγνομένων, ἢ στρατηγούντων σφίσιν τῶν πολεμίων. (§ 236) τὸ δὲ πάντων μέγιστον ὅτι καὶ τῆς πολιτείας κινηθείσης καί τινων ἀλλοτριωθέντων σφίσι τῶν οἴκοι, τόπον οὐδένα ἔχοντες οὗ χρὴ στῆναι πλὴν Σάμου… "But the Athenians at once reversed the situation, as if all these factors were operating in their favor and not against them, or as if their enemies were maneuvering for their advantage. But the greatest thing of all is this. The constitution had been unlawfully changed for them and some had deprived of their rights at home. They had no place on which to stand except Samos". a)

[27] Behr 1986: 439, n. 301, explains the text with παρέχειν as infinitive of purpose, but he also would consider the text corrupt and adds that Lenz would place χωρὶς τοῦ after ἐφικεῖσθαι, as Gregoras does.

πολεμίων : *ἐχθρῶν τυράννων*.[28] b) τῆς πολιτείας κινηθείσης : *πρὸς ἐμφύλιον μάχην*. c) ἀλλοτριωθέντων : <several letters erased> *στασιασάντων*. d) τῶν οἴκοι : *ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκείων*. e) τόπον οὐδένα : *ἐξῆλθον γὰρ οἱ κρείττους*. f) *πρὸ τῆς ἁλώσεως ταῦτα* marg.

(65) f. 43v § 237 [p. 92.15] ante ἐκ ποδὸς ἱππομαχήσαντες : *οἱ μὲν* add. fort. Greg. ut $R^2/R^3U$.

(66) f. 44 § 238 [p. 93.7–8] ἐκείνοις μὲν γὰρ ἀπεχθάνονται : om. ms. et suppl. s.l. fort. Greg.

(67) f. 44 § 240 [p. 94.4] καταπτήξασα : *οὐ φοβηθεῖσα*.

(68) f. 44v § 242 [p. 94.17–18] τῶ σκηπτῶ : *τῶ χειμῶ[νι]*.

(69) f. 44v § 242 [p. 94.18–19] τοσοῦτον ἐποίησαν τῆς πολιορκίας τὸ διάφορον : om. ms. et suppl. Greg. s.l.

(70) f. 44v § 245–247 [p. 95.8–13] ἅ τε γὰρ καθ' αὑτὴν ἔπραξε [sc. ἡ Ἀθῆνα] τῶν ἰδίᾳ τισὶ πραχθέντων ὑπεραίρει οὐχ ὅσον ἀγνοῆσαι, ἅ τ' ἐν ταὐτῷ γενομένων, ὁμοῦ πάντες ἐλάττους ἀντιθεῖναι. (246) καὶ μὴν ἔν γε τοῖς δυσκόλοις κρείττων γέγονε τῶν νενικηκότων· οἱ μὲν γὰρ εἴκοντες, ἡ δ' ἀντέχουσα δέδεικται τῇ τύχῃ. (247) οὐκοῦν ἀμφοτέρας τὰς νίκας οὐ παρὰ μικρὸν φέρεται καὶ νικᾷ τὰς πόλεις ὁμοίως οἷς τε κατώρθωσεν καὶ ἐν οἷς ἀπέτυχεν. "For its independent actions were unmistakably superior to those of anyone else; and as to joint ventures, all are inferior in comparison. Indeed, in its difficulties, it was superior to his victors. For they have been shown to have yielded to fortune, but the city to have held out against it. Then it wins on each count by no small margin and is superior to the other cities both in success and in misfortune." a) καθ' αὑτὴν : *ἰδία*. b) ἔπραξε : *τὰ ἐν Μαραθῶνι* (an example of what the city achieved by herself). c) ἐν ταὐτῷ γενομένων : *τῇ Σαλαμίνι* (an example of what she achieved in coalition). d) δυσκόλοις : *τοῖς δεινοῖς*. e) οἱ μὲν : *οἱ ἄλλοι* (sc. not Athens). f) εἴκοντες : *τῇ ἀνάγκη τῆς δυστυχίας*. g) ἡ δ' ἀντέχουσα : *ἡ δὲ πόλις*. h) τῇ τύχῃ : *τῇ δυστυχίᾳ*. i) ἀμφοτέρας τὰς νίκας : *τάς τε ἐν εὐτυχίᾳ καὶ τὰς ἐν δυστυχίᾳ*. j) φέρεται : *εἰς ἑαυτήν*. k) κατώρθωσεν : *εὐτυχήσασα*. l) ἀπέτυχεν : *δυστυχήσασα*.

(71) f. 45 § 249 [p. 96.3] δεδούλωται : *ἐδούλωσε*.

(72) f. 45 § 250 [p. 96.7] τὸ τῶν πόλεων : *τῆς Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ τῆς Ἀθηναίων*.

(73) f. 45 § 252 [p. 96.17] ἐν αὐτῇ : *ἐφ' ἑαυτὴν*.

(74) f. 45 § 252 [p. 96.18] ἐκείνους : *τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους*.

(75) f. 45v § 253 [p. 97.4–5] καὶ τῷ πρὸς τοὺς τριάκοντα πολέμῳ, μηδέν τι πρὸς πλείους μετ' ἐκείνους γενομένῳ "and in the war against the

[28] Gregoras glosses the historical context of the next sentence, the oligarchic revolution of the Four Hundred in 411 BC.

Thirty, which did not at all become a war against more than the Thirty after them": *ἐκ γὰρ τῶν ἐκτὸς Ἀθήν(ης) τριάκοντα τινες ἀντέστησαν τοῖς λ' τυράννοις καὶ κατέβαλον* marg. fort. Greg.

(76) f. 46 § 257 [p. 98.11–12] εἴ τις βούλοιτο μὴ πάντα διηγεῖσθαι, ἐνεῖναι κλέψαι τὴν συμβᾶσαν ἐπὶ τοῦ πολέμου συμφοράν : *ἄλλως γὰρ οὐκ ἂν εἴη δυνατὸν σιγᾶν καὶ μὴ πάντα διηγεῖσθαι ὅσα ἐν τῇ συμφορᾷ αὐτῶν ἐνεδείξαντο ἄξια διηγήσεως.*

(77) f. 46 § 262 [p. 99.8] πολιτευσάμενοι : *διοικήσαντες.*

(78) f. 46v § 263 [p. 99.16–18] τὸ ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς τοῦ πολέμου πράγμασιν καὶ καιροῖς τοσοῦτον φαίνεσθαι κρατοῦσαν τὴν πόλιν, εὖ τε καὶ ὡς ἑτέρως χωροῦσιν, "(Athens) seems quite superior even in the very actions and crises of war, both when they go well and when they go badly for her"; before ὡς (erased) m1 add. *τοῖς πράγμασιν* and before that Greg. add. *τοῖς καιροῖς καὶ*.

(79) f. 46v § 264 [p. 100.1] πρὸς τοὺς ἐν ὥρᾳ : *πρὸς τοὺς καρποὺς.*

(80) f. 47 § 267 [p. 100.14] τὴν ἀκαιρίαν κατεμέμψατο: post ἀκαιρίαν add. *ἑαυτῆς.*

(81) f. 47 § 267–268 [p. 100.15–22] σφᾶς δέον εἶναι τοὺς ἁπαντῶντας, παραβάλλοντες μέσην τοῖς τοῦ πολέμου κινδύνοις τὴν πόλιν, παρ' αὐτὰ τὰ τῶν συμφορῶν ὑπομνήματα, ἐξελθόντες εἰς Ἁλίαρτον ἐναντία Λυσάνδρῳ καὶ Παυσανίᾳ τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἐξείλοντο. καὶ τότε δὴ Λύσανδρος ἀκριβῶς ᾔσθετο, ὅτι οὐχ, ὡς ᾤετο, ἐνενικήκει τὴν τῶν Ἀθηναίων πόλιν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ὠνειροπόλησεν τοῖς παισὶ παραπλησίως· ἡ μὲν γὰρ εὐθὺς ἀνειλήφει τὰς συμφοράς, ὁ δ' οὐ τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων διῴκει, ἀλλ' ὁμοῦ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔκειτο. "(When the Lacedaemonians moved against the Thebans, the Athenians) had to be the ones to meet them; thus, committing their city to the dangers of war despite the reminders of their disasters, they marched out to Haliartus against Lysander and Pausanius and took Boeotia from them. It was then that Lysander realized that he had not conquered, as he supposed, the city of the Athenians, but had fooled himself with childish dreams. She had at once retrieved her losses, whereas he no longer administered the affairs of the Hellenes, but merely was one of the crowd." a) παρ' αὐτὰ : *ἐγγὺς ὄντες.* b) συμφορῶν : *ἃς ἔπαθον ὑπὸ Θηβαίων.* c) Ἁλίαρτον : *χώρα τῆς Βοιωτίας.* d) ἐνενικήκει : *οὗτος γὰρ ἦν ὁ κρατήσας τοῦ ναυτικοῦ τῶν Ἀθηναίων μετὰ κλοπ(ῆς).* e) ἀλλ' ὥσπερ : *ἀλλ' ὡς ἂν εἴποι τις.* f) ἡ μὲν : *ἡ πόλις.* g) ἀνειλήφει : *εἰς τοὐναντίον.* h) ὁ δ' : *ὁ Λύσανδρος.* i) διῴκει : *ὡς πρότερον ἀπέγραφε.* j) τοῖς ἄλλοις : *τοῖς ἀναιρεθεῖσιν ἐν Ἁλιάρτῳ.*

(82) f. 47 § 269 [p. 100.23–25] οὐ πολλῷ δ' ὕστερον καὶ Κορινθίους Ἑλληνικὴ καὶ τῇ πόλει πρέπουσα μετῆλθεν δίκη, καὶ καταφεύγουσι καὶ οὗτοι πρὸς τὴν πόλιν· "Not long afterwards the city obtained a dignified

Hellenic revenge on the Corinthians, when they too turned to the city for help". a) Ἑλληνικὴ : *παρὰ Ἑλλήνων*. b) τῇ πόλει : *διὰ γὰρ τὴν κακίαν ἣν ἐνεδείξαντο εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἔπαθον παρὰ τῶν φίλων δῆθεν Λακεδαιμονίων.*

(83) f. 47 § 269 [p. 100.25] ἣν : *τὴν πόλιν*; αὐτοὺς : *τοὺς Κορινθίους.*

(84) f. 47v § 272 [p. 101.22–102.5] ἃ μόνη κατειργάσατο, μέγιστα τῶν ἔργων ἐστίν· ἢ τοῖς ὕστερον εἴ τις τιθοῖτο, τοσοῦτον τῶν μετασχόντων ὑπερῆρεν, ὅσονπερ ἂν εἰ καθ' αὑτὴν ἠγωνίζετο. χωρὶς δὲ τούτων τοῖς τρισὶ καιροῖς μαρτυρεῖται· (§ 273) τὰ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτα τοῦ πολέμου μόνη κατέπραξεν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς δευτέροις καὶ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα προκινδυνεύσασα τὰ ἀριστεῖα ἠνέγκατο. "(the achievements) which she carried out alone. Or if one were to judge by the later actions, she rose above her partners quite as much as if she bore the struggle all alone. Apart from this, her behavior on all three occasions meets with praise. In the first phase of the war she alone succeeded; in the second phase she actually bore the brunt of the battle against the King and carried off the price of excellence". a) κατειργάσατο : *ἐν Μαραθῶνι*. b) ἢ τοῖς ὕστερον : *πάλιν τοῖς ἐν Σαλαμῖνι καὶ Πλαταιαῖς*. c) χωρὶς δὲ τούτων : *ἔτι περὶ τούτων, πλὴν ὅτι ἐκεῖ μὲν ἕνεκα τοῦ παραλληλισμοῦ τῆς εἰρήνης. νῦν δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν τριῶν καιρῶν μεγαλύνειν βουλόμενος*. d) τὰ μὲν : *τὰ ἐν Μαραθῶνι*. e) δευτέροις : *ἐν Σαλαμῖνι*.

(85) f. 48 § 275 [p. 102.15–16] ἡ δ' ἑτέρα τοὺς τὴν Ἀσίαν οἰκοῦντας Ἕλληνας ἀκούειν τοῦ βασιλέως κἀκεῖνον ποιεῖν. a) ἡ δ' ἑτέρα : *τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων* fort. Greg. b) ἀκούειν : *ὑπακοῦσαι*. c) βασιλέως : *τοὺς Ἴωνας*.

(86) f. 48 § 277 [p. 103.3] οἴκοθεν : *οἰκίου ἐγγύς.*

(87) f. 48 § 277 [p. 103.3] τοὺς δυστυχήσαντας : *οὓς εἷλεν αἰχμαλώτους ἐκ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων* fort. Greg.

(88) f. 49 § 283 [p. 104.15] οὔκουν ὡς ἀληθῶς ἄλλως γε ἂν εἴη, εἰ μὴ τὸ πρῶτον Ὀλυμπίων προσαγόντων παρέλαβον. "Actually would it not have been otherwise, if they had not first succeeded to power when the Olympic festival was approaching?" a) ὡς ἀληθῶς ἄλλως : *καὶ κατ' ἀληθείαν καὶ κατ' ἄλλου τρόπου* fort. Greg. b) εἰ μὴ : *ἐπεὶ οὐ* [ἐπεὶ $V^{2scc}$]. c) προσαγόντων : *τελουμένων*.

(89) f. 49 § 284 [p. 104.19–20] καὶ δι' αὐτά γε ταῦτ' εἰρηκὼς αὐτοὺς [λόγους] δι' ἃ φημι δεῖν μὴ λέγειν "I have made similar arguments for the very reasons, for which I claim they should not be made"; a) *τὸ ἑξῆς οὕτως· καὶ δι' αὐτά γε ταῦτα εἰρηκὼς αὐτοὺς δεῖν μὴ λέγειν δι' ἃ φημὶ κἀγὼ νῦν* marg. b) αὐτοὺς : *γρ. αὐτὰ* (ut Q). c) φημι : *ἐγὼ νῦν*. d) post λέγειν add. *αὐτούς*.

(90) f. 49v § 287 [p. 105.10] καὶ τούτων, ἃ μὲν διείλοντο, ἀπέτυχον ("they failed in those which they took for themselves alone") : *ὥσπερ ἐπὶ διαιρέσ(ει)* fort. Greg.

(91) f. 49v § 293 [p. 106.6] τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καλὰ : *τὴν αὐτονομίαν.*

(92) f. 49v § 293 [p. 106.8] εἰρήνην : *τὴν αἰσχράν.*

(93) f. 50 § 294 [p. 106.16–17] marg. *ὕστερον τοῦτο τῶν Λευκτρικῶν.*[29]

(94) f. 50 § 294 [p. 106.20–21] δεξάμενοι μὲν τὴν φυγὴν καὶ τὴν πρᾶξιν αὐτοῖς συνθέντες καὶ προδείξαντες ὥσπερ δρᾶμα "(Athens) receiving the fugitives, preparing a course of action with them, coaching them". a) τὴν φυγὴν : *αὐτῶν τῶν Θηβαίων*. b) συνθέντες : *συμβουλεύσαντες*. c) προδείξαντες : *προκαταστήσαντες*.

(95) f. 50v § 299 [p. 108.7–8] ἡ Πελοπόννησος : *καὶ γὰρ ἡ Πελοπόννησος κακῶς διέκειτο πρὸς τὴν Σπάρτην* "since the Peloponnese was not well-disposed towards Sparte".

(96) f. 51v § 304 [p. 109.17–110.3] ὅταν δὲ ἐξετάζων διὰ πάντων ἑνὸς καὶ δυοῖν λαμβάνῃ, λέληθας ἐπαινῶν οἷς ἀφίης, ἄλλως τ' εἰ μηδ' ἰδιώτου ποιῇ τὴν κρίσιν, ἀλλὰ πόλεως, καὶ ταύτης πρεσβυτάτης τῶν Ἑλληνίδων καὶ ἥ πλεῖστα ὑπάρχει τὰ δέοντα συμβάντα. "But when after a complete examination, you seize on one or two incidents, you have unwittingly praised it in all those matters in which you acquit it, especially if you are not judging an individual, but a city and the oldest Greek city at that, and one which has to its credit the largest number of needful actions." a) λαμβάνῃ : *κατηγορῆς*. b) οἷς ἀφίης : *δι' ὧν παρέρχῃ μὴ ψέγων. πλειόνων ὄντων* marg. c) ὑπάρχει : *τὰ σύμβαντα καλὰ* marg. d) δέοντα : *τὰ καλὰ*.

(97) f. 51v § 306 [p. 110.13–21] πῶς γὰρ ἂν καὶ λογίζεσθαι φαίη τις αὐτοὺς περὶ τῶν ὄντων μετρίως ἢ πῶς ὑπὲρ ἀρχῆς χρῆναι διαλέγεσθαι, εἰ τοῦτο πρῶτον ἠγνοήκασι, τὴν φύσιν αὐτῆς; ἅπασα γὰρ δήπουθεν ἀρχὴ τῶν κρειττόνων ἐστὶν καὶ παρ' αὐτὸν τὸν τῆς ἰσότητος νόμον· εἰ δὲ μή, πῶς ἴσον ἢ ποῦ δίκαιον ἢ φόρους ἐκλέγειν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀλλοτρίας, ἢ νόμους τιθέναι τοῖς οὐδὲν δεομένοις, ἢ κρίνειν τἀκείνων, ἢ προστάττειν, ἢ πολεμεῖν, ἢ κτᾶσθαι τὰ μὴ προσήκοντα; ὅλως γὰρ οὐδὲν τούτων ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου γίγνεται. ὥστ' εἴ τις ἀκριβολογεῖται περὶ τῶν δικαίων καὶ σοφιστὴς εἶναι μᾶλλον βούλεται ἢ τῇ τῶν πραγμάτων φύσει συγχωρεῖν, οὐκ ἂν φθάνοι διαγράφων πάσας ἀρχάς τε καὶ δυνάμεις ἁπλῶς· ὡς ἅπαντά γε ταῦτά ἐστιν ἐν τῷ θεσμῷ τοῦ κρείττονος. "For how could it be said that they show a balanced consideration for the realities of life or that they ought to discuss empire if they have misunderstood this point to begin with, its nature? for every empire obviously belongs to the stronger and is contrary to the very law of equality. But if this is not so, how is it fair or in what way is it just to collect tribute from a foreign land, or to legislate for those who do not desire it, or to judge their affairs, or to give them orders, or to wage war, or to possess what is not properly one's own? In general, none of these circumstances is equi-

[29] Perhaps alluding to the next Leuctrica orations, now in El Escorial X.I.13.

table. Therefore if someone is uncompromising about equal rights and prefers to be a sophist rather than to admit the nature of the matter, he would lose no time in erasing every empire and power without distinction, since they all rest on the law of the stronger." a) χρῆναι : *φήσει τίς*. b) διαλέγεσθαι : αὐτοὺς. c) τῶν κρειττόνων : *τῶν δυνατοτέρων ἀνθρώπων*. d) παρ' αὐτὸν : *ἔξω τοῦ νόμου τῆς ἰσότητος*. e) εἰ δὲ μὴ : *δειξάτωσαν* marg. f) ἴσον ἢ : *ἢ ἐὰν ἴσον ἦ, που δίκον ἐκ τῶν ἴσων φόρους ἐκλέγειν*. g) πολεμεῖν : *ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων*. h) προσήκοντα : *τὰ τέλη*. i) σοφιστὴς : *κατηγόρος*. j) φύσει – ἁπλῶς : *ἐκβάλλων καὶ ἀναιρῶν ὡς ἀδίκους*. k) ἅπαντα : *τὸ νόμους τιθέναι τὸ προστάττειν τὸ κρίνειν* (infra lin.). l) ἐν τῷ θεσμῷ : *ἐν τῷ νόμῳ τῆς ἐξουσίας*.

(98) f. 52 § 307 [p. 110.21–22] εἶθ' ὑπὸ σοφίας ἄνεισι μέχρι τῶν θεῶν, ἐλέγχων, καὶ λέγων ὡς. a) ὑπὸ σοφίας : *εἰρωνικ(όν)*. b) λέγων : *ἄτοπα*. c) ὡς : *ἐπεί*.

(99) f. 52 § 308 [p. 111.3–112.3] εἰ δὲ ἀναγκαῖον τὸ ἁπάσῃ δυναστείᾳ καὶ πάσῃ περιουσίᾳ τὰ τοιαῦτα προσεῖναι, καὶ οὗτός ἐστιν ἀρχῆς θεσμός, μὴ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου πρὸς τοὺς ὑπηκόους κρίνεσθαι, τότε νικῶν ἀπίτω τις, ὅταν δείξῃ τῶν ἄλλων εἴτε Ἑλληνικῶν δυνάμεων εἴτε καὶ βαρβαρικῶν βασιλειῶν ἥντινοῦν ἐλάττονι τῷ τῆς πλεονεξίας γιγνομένῳ χρησαμένην ἢ τὸν τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἔστι δῆμον εὑρεῖν. φανήσεται γάρ, ἃ μὲν διαφερόντως ἐβουλεύσατο, ἑνὸς ἀνδρὸς ἄθει κεχρημένος τοῦ βελτίστου, ἃ δ' ἐγκαλοῦσί τινες, οὐ τῇ κοινῇ φύσει τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐξαμαρτών, ἀλλὰ τῇ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀκολουθήσας ἀνάγκῃ, καὶ δυνάμει μὲν ἄρχων καταστὰς τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς, φιλανθρωπίᾳ δὲ τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς δεδωκὼς ἑκὼν μεθεὶς καὶ σχεδὸν αὐτὸς αὑτῷ τῶν ἐγκλημάτων αἴτιος γεγονώς. πλείστῳ γὰρ τῷ κοινῷ μετρίῳ πρὸς ἅπαντας χρησάμενος καὶ τρόπον τινὰ τῆς πολιτείας μᾶλλον κοινωνοὺς ποιησάμενος ἢ δυναστείας νόμῳ κατέχων ταυτὸν τοῖς χρηστοῖς ἔπαθε τῶν δεσποτῶν· οὐ γὰρ διὰ τὴν ἄλλην ἐπιείκειαν χάριτος παρ' ἐνίων ἔτυχεν, ἀλλ' εἴ τι προσηνάγκασεν, ἐπιφανῶς ἔδοξε βιάζεσθαι. καὶ μὴν εἰ μὲν ἔχοντας τὸ τῶν ὑπηκόων σχῆμα ταῦτ' εἰργασμένος φαίνεται, δῶμεν τοῖς ἐθέλουσιν βλασφημεῖν. "If it is necessary for every rule and every kind of superiority to have such attributes and this is the law of empire, not to be judged on a level of equality against one's subjects, then let someone go off having won his case when he shows that any of the other Greek powers or even barbarian kingdoms made less use of the prerogatives of their advantage than the people of Athens can be found to have done. For it will be obvious that the Athenians in their remarkable decisions have behaved like a very good man, and in the matters for which some blame them, have not erred through the ordinary nature of mankind, but have followed the imperatives of empire; and while they have been rulers from the start through their power, they have voluntarily dispensed with the terror of empire and have almost themselves been responsible for the

complaints through their generosity. For when they behaved most democratically and moderately toward all and in a way made everyone partners in their government rather than restraining them under the law of empire, they had the same experience as good masters. For they received no gratitude from some because of their other goodness; but if they used any compulsion, their application of force appeared particularly noticeable." a) τὰ τοιαῦτα : *τιμωρίαι· κρίσεις· δασμολογεῖν.* b) post δυνάμεων : *ἀρχῶν.* c) πλεονεξίας : *ἐξουσίας.* d) ἢ : *παρὸ.* e) ἐβουλεύσατο : *ὁ δῆμος.* f) τῇ κοινῇ φύσει : *ἐκ δυστυχίας.* g) δυνάμει : *ἰσχύι* pc. h) ἄρχων : *ὁ δῆμος.* i) ante φιλανθρωπία add *τῇ.* j) αἴτιος : *διὰ χριστότητα.* k) γεγονὼς : *ὁ δῆμος.* post δυναστείας add. μᾶλλον. l) δυναστείας : *μίας.* m) χάριτος : *εὐχαριστίας.* n) ἐπιφανῶς : *ἐμφανῶς.* o) ἔχοντας : *στέργοντας.* p) ταῦτ' : *τὰ δεινὰ.* q) φαίνεται : *ὁ δῆμος.*

(100) f. 52v § 309 [p. 112.8] a) κρατήσειν : *κυριεύσειν.* b) τῆς πόλεως : *αὐτοὶ τῆς ἑαυτῶν.* c) post πόλεως add. *πιστεύσαντες* ex *supra*.

(101) f. 52v § 312 [p. 113.10] καὶ τὰ τελευταῖα τῇ περὶ Μαντίνειαν ἀρίστῃ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν. a) ante ἀρίστῃ add. *ἐν* et postea ἱππομαχίᾳ. b) ἑλληνικῶν : Ἑλλήνων ms. : *τῶν νῦν* add. postea.

(102) f. 53 § 313 [p. 113.17] τὴν πεῖραν : *τοῦ πολέμου.*

(103) f. 53 § 313 [p. 113.20] δι' αὐτοῦ : *οἰκείαν.*

(104) f. 53 § 313 [p. 114.1] a) ἐπηγάγετο : *κατεδέξατο*. b) post οὐκ add. πόλ(εως?).

(105) f. 53 § 313 [p. 114.2] ἅπασι : *ἔλλησι.*

(106) f. 53 § 315 [p. 114.9] τῆς Ἑλλάδος : *τὴν ἐλευθερίαν.*

(107) f. 53v § 318 [p. 114.18] γένει : *γενικῶς.*

(108) f. 54 § 322 [p. 116.2–5] μόνοι γὰρ ἁπάντων ἀνθρώπων, τὸ λεγόμενον δὴ τοῦτο, ἀναίμακτον τρόπαιον ἐστήσατε, οὐκ ἀπὸ Βοιωτῶν οὐδ' ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων οὐδὲ Κορινθίων, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῶν ὁμοφύλων ἁπάντων, – λέγω δὲ οὐχ ὡς ἄν τις Ἕλληνας προσείποι πρὸς βαρβάρους ἀντιδιαιρούμενος. "You alone of mankind have erected "a bloodless trophy", as the expression goes, not by defeating the Boeotians, or Lacedaemonians, or Corinthians, but all kindred races – I do not mean in the way one would call peoples Greeks in distinction to barbarians." a) Βοιωτῶν : *μόνων*. b) Λακεδαιμονίων : *μόνων*. c) Κορινθίων : *μόνων*. d) ὁμοφύλων : *τῶν ὁμογενῶν κατὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπείαν φύσιν ἀντιδιαιρουμένην πρὸς τὴν ἄλογον φύσιν τῶν ἄλλων ζώων* marg.

(109) f. 54v § 322 [p. 116.5] ἀντιδιαιρούμενος : διαιρούμενος ms. : *ἀντι* suppl. Greg.

(110) f. 54v § 325 [p. 116.20–117.3] ἴδοις δ' ἂν καὶ τοὺς ἡνιόχους καὶ τοὺς νομέας καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάττης ζῶντας καὶ πάντα ὅσα ἔθνη καὶ κατὰ πόλεις καὶ κατὰ χώρας τῆς παρ' ὑμῶν φωνῆς ἐχομένους καὶ πειρωμένους

[τῆς γῆς] ἀνθάπτεσθαι, καθάπερ τοὺς νεῖν ἀδυνάτους. (326) ταύτην ἐγώ φημι τὴν μαρτυρίαν, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ πάντες Ἕλληνες, καὶ παρ' ὑμῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν παρ' ὑμῖν πρώτων διαφερόντως εἰσέτι νῦν ἐφ' ἑκάστῃ ἡμέρᾳ τελεῖσθαι τῇ πόλει τῆς νίκης. "One might see the guides, the herdsmen, and those who get their living from the sea, and all peoples, city by city and land by land, clinging to your dialect and trying to hold on to your land, like those unable to swim. O Lacedaemonians and all other Greeks, I say that every day this proof of the city's victory is still confirmed by you yourselves and especially by the first men among you." a) τοὺς ἀπὸ θαλάττης ζῶντας : *τοὺς ἐμπόρους*. b) ἔθνη : *συστήματα*. c) ἀνθάπτεσθαι : *διὰ τῆς διαλέκτου, αὐτοὶ πόρρω τῆς Ἀττικῆς ὄντες* marg. d) τὴν μαρτυρίαν : *τῆς νίκ(ης) τελεῖσθαι τῇ πόλ(ει) π(αρὰ) πάντων* marg. e) αὐτῶν : *τῶν Ἑλλήνων*. f) post καὶ add. *παρὰ*. g) διαφερόντως : *τοὺς Ῥωμαίους λέγ(ει) νῦν*.

(111) f. 55 § 327 [p. 117.6] ταύτην ἐγὼ τὴν μεγάλην ἀρχήν : *ταύτην ἐγὼ ἀρχὴν καλῶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὴν μεγίστην*.

(112) f. 55 § 327 [p. 117.14] ὡς : *κατὰ τὸ*.

(113) f. 55 § 327 [p. 117.15] ἀκούοι τις : *τῶν ἄλλων φωνῶν*.

(114) f. 55 § 327 [p. 117.18] τόποις : *δικαστηρίοις θαλάμοις τάφοις*.

(115) f. 55 § 328 [p. 117.20] ἀλλὰ μὴ τοῦ γε διὰ πάντων ἀγῶνος καὶ τόνου καὶ δρόμου καὶ κράτους. a) πάντων : *δικανικῶν λόγων*. b) τόνου : *δυχου* (?). c) δρόμου : *κινήσεως*.

(116) f. 55 § 329 [p. 118.6–7] οὔκουν ξενίαν γ' ἔστι τῶν λόγων καταγνῶναι· ὥσπερ γὰρ προειδυῖα ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἡ φύσις περὶ τῆς πόλεως. a) ξενίαν : *ἀποξένωσιν*. b) τῶν λόγων : *τῶν ἐμῶν*. c) ἡ φύσις : *ἡ πάντα διοικοῦσα*.

(117) f. 55v § 330 [p. 118.15] a) ἐξηγηταὶ τῶν ἱερῶν : *διδάσκαλοι*.b) ἱερῶν : *ἱερὰ φησὶ καὶ τὰ Ἐλευσιν<ὰ ια?. καὶ τοὺς ἀττικοὺς λόγους ὧν ἀμφοτέρων διδάσκαλοι καθεστήκατε οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι πλὴν ὅτι ἐκείνων μὲν μυστικῶς, τούτων δὲ τῶν λόγων εἰς τὸ μέσον φανερῶς* marg.

(118) f. 55v § 330 [p. 119.1] πάντων : *τῶν παρὰ θεῶν δοθέντων*.

(119) f. 55v § 332 [p. 119.17] ἀρχὴ : *ἡ Ῥωμαίων*.

(120) f. 58v § 355 [p. 126.7 τοῖς καινοῖς – 8 καινὰ] om. ms. et suppl. Greg.

(121) f. 59 § 358 [p. 126.16] νικῶνται : *λέγω*.

(122) f. 59 § 360 [p. 126.19] a) τά γε δεύτερα : *τὰ δευτερεῖα τῶν Ἀθηναίων*. b) ἔχει : *φέρει*.

(123) f. 59 § 360 [p. 126.23] Θηβαίων : *ὅτε Λακεδαιμονίων ἴσχυσαν. ὑπὲρ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων κατὰ Θηβαίων*.

(124) f. 59v § 364 [p. 127.12] χεῖρα τοῖς καλοῖς : *χεῖρα Θεῶν ὀνομάζει τὴν πόλιν, δι' αὐτῆς γὰρ ἐπιβάλλει τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς*.

(125) f. 59v § 364 [p. 127.15] πρώην : *ἀρχαιοτέρα*.

(126) f. 59v § 364 [p. 127.17] ἃ γὰρ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐν ἀγάλμασι δεῖξαι σπουδὴν ἔχει : *τοὺς λίθους γὰρ οὓς ἐπιθυμοῦσιν ἔχειν εἰς ἀγαλμάτων μόνων κατασκευὴν οἱ ἄλλοι ἄνθρωποι, οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐκ περισσείας αὐτῶν ὁλοκλήρους ναοὺς κατασκευάζουσι καὶ θέατρα ποικίλλουσι.*

(127) f. 59v § 365 [p. 128.2] a) εἷς : *ὁ Σόλων*. b) δυοῖν ἀρίστοιν : *Λύκουργος καὶ Σόλων* marg. c) ἄτερος : ὁ Σόλων

(128) f. 59v § 368 [p. 128.12] a) ἀποδεικνύναι : *μετὰ ἀποδείξεως λέγειν ἕκαστα*. b) post χρόνου add. *δεῖται.*

(129) f. 60 § 372 [p. 129.13] a) οἱ δὲ : *οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι*. b) ἐπανήγαγον : *εἰς τοὐπίσω* fort. Greg.

(129bis) f. 60v § 373 [p. 129.18] Ἐλευσινίῳ : *ἱερῷ.*

(130) f. 60v § 375 [p. 130.1–3] ἅπαντα ἢ παρ' ὑμῖν ἐστι μόνοις, ἢ καὶ παρ' ὑμῶν, καὶ τριῶν ἕν γέ τι συμβέβηκεν. τὰ μὲν γὰρ παρ' ὑμῶν ἤρξατο, τὰ δ' ὡς κάλλιστα παρ' ὑμῖν ἐστι, τὰ δὲ ὡς πλεῖστα. "Everything is in your possession alone, or owes its origin to you, with one of three results. Of some things you are the originator, and of others you possess the fairest possible, and of others the most numerous." a) καὶ – συμβέβηκεν : *οἷον ἂν ἐθέλῃς ἐκ τῶν γ' συμβέβηκε τῇ πόλει*. b) τὰ δὲ ὡς : *παρ' ὑμῖν ἐστίν*. c) πλεῖστα : *ὥστε καὶ τὰ τρία.*

(131) f. 60v § 377 [p. 130.9] καταφυγῆς : *τῆς εἰς τὰ Τρωϊκά.*

(132) f. 60v § 377 [p. 130.10] ποιητὴς : *Ὅμηρος.*

(133) f. 60v § 377 [p. 130.11] στρατηγὸν : *τὸν Μενεσθέα.*

(134) f. 61 § 379 [p. 131.9] θρέψε (θρέψοι ms.) : *γρ. θρέψειε.*

(135) f. 61 § 381 [p. 131.14] Σαλαμίνιον : *ἡ δὲ Σαλαμὶς τῶν Ἀττικῶν.*

(136) f. 61 § 381 [p. 131.14] ἕτερον τῶν ἐπωνύμων : *τὸν ἕνα τῶν Αἰάντων.*

(137) f. 61v § 387 [p. 132.14] βασιλεῖς : *ὑμῶν οἱ παλαιοί.*

(138) f. 61v § 387 [p. 132.15] δῆμος : *ὑμῶν.*

(139) f. 61v § 388 [p. 133.1] βουλὴ : *τοῦ Ἀρείου πάγου.*

(140) f. 61v § 388 [p. 133.5] a) πολιτείαν : *ἁπλῆν*. b) κρᾶσιν : *οὐκ ἁπλῆν.*

(141) f. 62 § 389 [p. 133.18] φανήσονται : *οἱ ἄλλοι.*

(142) f. 62 § 389 [p. 133.20] ἐγγὺς om. ms. : suppl. fort. Greg.

(143) f. 62 § 390 [p. 134.2] διὰ τοῦτο : *διὰ τὴ αὔξησιν.*

(143bis) f. 62 § 390 [p. 134.12] εἰς ἀρχὰς ἀγοῦσα καὶ πιστεύουσα : *ἡ πόλις* add.

(144) f. 62v § 391 [p. 134.18] a) ἕνα : *Ἀριστείδην*. b) τούτων : *τῶν πενεστάτων.*

(145) f. 62v § 391 [p. 134.19] a) οἷς[1] : *φόροις*. b) οἷς [2] : *λόγοις.*

(146) f. 62v § 392 [p. 135.2] συμπεπτωκὸς : *συνδραμόν.*

(147) f. 62v § 392 [p. 135.4] πολιτείας : *ἡ γὰρ μὴ κατὰ ἦθος πολιτεία, οὐδὲ πολιτεία καλοῖτ' ἂν εἰκότως.*

(148) f. 63 § 393 [p. 135.14] λῆρος ἅπαντα τἄλλα πρὸς ἐκείνους ἦν : *ἀντ' οὐδενὸς ἐλογίζοντο τὴν ῥαστών(ην) καὶ τὴν τρυφήν. ἢ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνδραγαθημάτων λῆρος ἐφαίνοντο πρὸς ἐκείνους καὶ τὰ ἐκείνων.*

(149) f. 63 § 393 [p. 135.15] a) πένταθλοι : *ἀθληταί*. b) νικῶντες : *ἐνίοτε*. c) τοῖς πᾶσι : *τοῖς πέντε ἀγῶσι*.

(150) f. 63 § 394 [p. 135.17–18] ἢ ποίοις ἂν λόγοις : *ἑτέροις παρ' οἷς χρῶνται οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐν πολέμοις.*

## Appendix 1: The *Panathenaikos'* Excerpts in Heidelberg. Palat. gr. 129

The codex written by Nikephoros Gregoras gathers some short texts from Aristides' *Panathenaikos* on ff. 37 and 39. This selection is not marked anyhow on Escorial Φ.I.18.

1) On f. 37 the marginal note Ἀριστείδ(ου) marks the beginning of the Aristidean excerpts. The first one is from Or. 2, *Πρὸς Πλάτωνα περὶ ῥητορικῆς* 32.30, but in the lower margin we can read Ἐκ τοῦ Π[ανα]θηναι[κοῦ] τὰ γ<' κείμενα (?)>, refering to the next three excerpts:

+ ὅτι τὸ λαμβάνομαι κεῖται κἀπὶ καταγνώσεως γενικῆ συνταττόμενον, ὡς ἐν Παναθηναικῶ, οἷον ὅταν δ' ἐξετάζων διὰ πάντων ἑνὸς καὶ δυοῖν λαμβάνῃ (fort. -οι a.c.), λέληθας ἐπαινῶν οἷς ἀφίης :- [= § 304, p. 109.16–110.1].[30]

+ χωρὶς δὲ, ὑπὲρ Μεγάρων ἦσαν ἐν Γερανείᾳ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ὥστε μὴ ἔχειν Λακεδαιμονίους ὅ τι χρήσονται [§ 219, p. 85.24–p. 86.1].

+ τίνα γὰρ μεσόγειαν οὗ ποίαν Ἀτλαντικὴν ῥαχίαν οὐκ ἔσεισεν ὁ Ξέρξης [§ 119, p. 50.13].

2) On f. 39 we read a few more sentences; they do not always keep the original order of the text that indeed is sometimes paraphrased:

ἔφερε δὲ ὁ πόρος πρὸς τὴν ἤπειρον ἔξω τῷ βασιλεῖ δεινὰ θεάματα καὶ μάλα ἀπᾴδοντα τῆς ἐκείνου περινοίας καὶ τρυφῆς [§ 162, p. 67.11–13].

παλινῳδίαν ᾖδε, καὶ μεταστρέψας ᾖει τὴν αὐτὴν [§ 166, p. 68.14–15].

[30] See above No. 96. The comment on λαμβάνομαι is identical to the one published by Hermann 1801: 319–352, § 110, from Par. gr. 3027, as part of a grammar (inc. Βούλησις ἐπὶ ἀγαθοῦ) whose author was perhaps Nikephoros Gregoras. A gloss of the same grammar was added by Philotheos of Selymbria in Vindob. Phil. gr. 96; see Gastgeber 2010: 432. See the *Λέξεις ἀναγκαῖαι μερικαί* edited by Pontani 2014: 145–168, esp. 162. No. 12, is almost identical to another fragment from the same collection published by Hermann.

τῆς τῶν οἰκειοτάτων συνηθείας ἀπεζευγμένοι φέροντι τῷ θυμῷ [§ 155 p. 65.4–5]; ἁπάντων ὑπερεῖχεν [§ 139, p. 59.8–9].

+ ὑπερεῖχον μὲν τὰς πόλεις Ἀθῆναι [§ 149, p. 62.16 τὰς μὲν γὰρ πόλεις ὑπερεῖχον Ἀθῆναι].

<οἱ δὲ add.> ἀπῆραν, ὥσπερ πτηνοῖς ἀκολουθεῖν οὐ δυνάμενοι [§ 200, p. 79.12–13].

ὁμοῦ μὲν Φοίνιξι καὶ Κίλιξι καὶ Κυπρίοις ναυμαχοῦντες ἐν μέσῳ τῷ Αἰγυπτίων πελάγει καὶ ναυτικὰ ἀθρόα λαμβάνοντες, ὁμοῦ δὲ πρὸς πᾶσαν τὴν Περσῶν ἀρχὴν διακινδυνεύοντες ἐν τῇ γῇ [§ 202, p. 79.20–22].

καὶ οὔπω ταῦτα μεγάλα ἀλλ' ἀπῆσαν τῇ πόλει καὶ αἱ δυνάμεις [cf. § 215, p. 84.12–13].

καὶ τὰς μὲν πεζομαχίας καὶ ἱπποµαχίας ἧττον ἴσως ἄξιον ἐκπλαγῆναι διὰ τὴν ἀεὶ τοῦ νικᾶν συνήθειαν καὶ τὸ δεδόσθαι τῇ πόλει καθάπερ γέρας τὴν τῶν κρειττόνων μοῖραν ἐν τοῖς πλείστοις + ἀντέπεσε τὰ πράγματα [§ 233, p. 90.2–5 + 5–6].

## Appendix 2: Gregorios Kyprios' Marginalia

f. 13v: § 31 [p. 19.4] τὸ τῇ φύσει δεύτερον : *τὸ γὰρ πρῶτον ἐλέχθη* fort. Greg. Kypr.[s.l.]

f. 14: § 33 [p. 19.21] καὶ μὴν τοῦτό γε ἀμήχανον μὴ θεοφιλεῖς : *ὅρα πρωτ<> ϑ* fort. Greg. Kypr.[marg.]

f. 21v: § 85 [p. 37.5–6]: οἳ δεῦρ' ἔτι πρόσθεν ἐλθόντες σὺν Εὐμόλπῳ underlined by Greg. Kypr., who writes above: *οἳ δεῦρ' ἔτι πρόσθεν ἐλθόντες σὺν Εὐμόλπω*. l. 7 βουλεύσαντες: βουλεύσασθαι ms. [ut $Q^{2γρ}$] : -αντες Greg. Kypr. corr.

f. 38v § 200 [p. 79.9–10] θαυμαστὴν δὲ ἐπεδείξαντο καὶ ὡς ἀληθῶς om. ms. et suppl. Greg. Kypr.

f. 38v § 202 [p. 79.19] παρεῖσαν : *γρ. καὶ παρήεισαν* Greg. Kypr. ut $V^{b}$.

f. 38v § 202 [p. 80.3] ἐνδοξοτέραν : ἐνδοτέραν ms. : γρ. ἐνδοξοτέραν Greg. Kypr.[marg.]

f. 38v § 207 [p. 81.11] post ἐπευθύμησαν add. *μὲν γὰρ* fort. Greg. Kypr. ut U.

f. 49 § 283 [p. 104.15] ὡς ἀληθῶς ἄλλως : *καὶ κατ' ἀληθείαν καὶ κατ' ἄλλου τρόπου* fort. Greg. Kypr. πρῶτον : *καὶ καταρχθὲν* [sic] fort. Greg. Kypr.

Geoffrey Horrocks

# Georgios Akropolitis: Theory and Practice in the Language of Later Byzantine Historiography

## 1. Introduction

It is a commonplace of Byzantine studies that medieval Greek literature composed in classical genres such as historiography[1] demanded an archaising style based closely on the literary variety of the Attic dialect first developed in the fifth and fourth centuries BC and subsequently "restored to its former glory" in the period of the Second Sophistic (first and second centuries AD).[2] Work in this high-register variety was always intended for a small, elite readership and it is recognised that this "artificial" language is, at least superficially, far removed in key respects not only from the current medieval vernacular but even from the more practical written styles employed, for example, in the complementary genre of chronography.[3]

In recent years, however, the perception of learned medieval Greek as a mechanical, repetitive and often poorly executed reincarnation of its more vital ancient counterpart has been questioned in the light of a more sensitive appreciation of the challenges involved in writing in such a style and of the wider historical and sociolinguistic environment in which the relevant authors worked.[4] Accordingly, the balance has now shifted decisively in favour of an alternative view of high-register medieval Greek as a variety that interacted throughout its history not only with the language of hall-marked forerunners through the ages but also, often quite subtly, with the current vernacular. One consequence is that,

[1] For a recent general study of methods and objectives in Byzantine historiography, see Sinclair (2012).

[2] Hunger (1978) remains the standard introduction to classicising writing in the Byzantine empire.

[3] Browning (1983) is a classic point of reference for this common perception, based in part on an anachronistic projection of the "language question" of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries into the medieval period.

[4] See, for example, Horrocks (1997/2010 ch.9, 2014), Stone (2009), Wahlgren (2002, 2010): the papers in Hinterberger (2014) are particularly important in this connection.

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as the only acceptable medium of creative expression for the designated purposes, it innovated steadily in the hands of its practitioners over time.

My purpose here is to contribute to this process of reinterpretation by examining some key aspects of the language of the *History* of Georgios Akropolitis (?1217/1220–1282). The central claim will be that, while it was relatively easy to select classically sanctioned lexicon, phraseology, stylistic traits and morphology, it was in fact quite hard, in more abstract and subconscious domains like syntax and semantics, for Greek native speakers to keep the contemporary language at bay – perhaps increasingly so with the passage of time.

In order to keep the discussion below within reasonable bounds, the focus here will be on expressions of futurity and modality, and on a demonstration that Akropolitis' understanding of this domain was based solidly on vernacular usage, and that he is for the most part dressing abstract contemporary categories in ancient clothes. This study therefore seeks, albeit in a limited way, to consolidate the more recent view of high-register Byzantine Greek as a highly specialised variety of the *contemporary* language that required the application of a prescribed set of archaising transpositions to its surface form but not (at least in the same degree) to its underlying syntactic-semantic conception. To show that Akropolitis was not alone in this regard, the usage of the anonymous and near-contemporary metaphrast of Anna Komnini's *Alexiad* will be compared.[5]

## 2. Futurity and Modality in the Later Medieval Vernacular

Before we examine Akropolitis' usage, we must first establish the relevant linguistic norms in the contemporary vernacular. From around the eleventh century onwards reference to the future could be marked in any one of the following ways:[6]

1) (a) ἵνα/νά + subjunctive.

(b) infinitival periphrases with auxiliaries μέλλω/ἔχω/θέλω – the last becoming

[5] The fragmentary "metaphrase" of the *Alexiad* covers chapters 11.7–13.12 and offers a transposition of the original into a simpler, though by no means vernacular, style (Hunger (1981)). Davis (2010) is a recent study of the background to these texts, all of which belong to the Palaeologan era.

[6] See Markopoulos (2009) for a detailed study.

increasingly the norm over time; *νά* + subjunctive is already widely substituted for the infinitive within the periphrasis.

(c) *νά* + an infinitival periphrasis with auxiliary *ἔχω* (a rare, "low" innovation, mostly

characteristic of the fourteenth century *Chronicle of the Morea*).

It is striking that all of these options also convey a range of modal values (including epistemic, volitional, dynamic and deontic) and that in many cases clear distinctions are difficult or even impossible to make. Consider the examples in 2) where a future reading is always available, but one or more modal readings are also possible in context (as the translations make clear):

2) (a) τίς τῆς καρδίας του τὴν χαρὰν *νά ἰσχύσῃ* καταλέξειν;

"Who will/can have the strength to describe the joy in his heart?"

*Epithalamium*, lines 4 of MS Folio 7v. (?twelfth or ?thirteenth/fourteenth century)

(b) καὶ τότε δεῦτε πρὸς ἐμὲ καὶ κάτι *νά σᾶς εἴπω*

"And then come to me and I will/may/must tell you something"

Spaneas P 208 (twelfth century)

(c) *περάσειν ἔχω*, Μαξιμού, ὡς διὰ σὲν τὸ ποτάμι

"I will/can/must cross the river, Maximou, on your behalf."

Dig. Acr. E 1532 (?twelfth century)

It is also important to note that writers often exploit and combine the available options more or less interchangeably, as the following instances from the *Chronicle of the Morea* demonstrate:

3) (a) τὸ κάλλιον... ὅπου *ἔχομεν ποιήσει* ...

"The best thing we can do."; "The best thing, which we shall/must do"

*Chron. Mor.* H, 3647 (fourteenth century)

(b) ἂν εὕρωμεν τὸν βασιλέα...τὸν *θέλομεν πολεμήσει*

"If we find the king, we will/shall attack him"

*Chron. Mor.* H, 3650–3651 (fourteenth century)

(c) *ἂν θέλω … νὰ στείλω ἐκεῖ φουσσᾶτα ἐδικά μου, … νὰ τὸν ἐπάρουν εὔκολα καὶ νὰ τὸν ἔχεις χάσει*

"If I send my own armies there, they can/will take it [viz. your land] easily and you may/will lose it."

Chron. Mor. H, 4233–4237 (fourteenth century)

Summarising, the later medieval vernacular had at its disposal a set of competing forms for referring to the future, all of which were also used to express a variety of modal notions – the distinction between the two concepts, involving closely related domains of inherent uncertainty, being difficult to draw in any clear-cut way.

## 3. Futurity and Modality in the History of Georgios Akropolitis

It now remains to be seen whether Akropolitis' use of the ancient morphological options in this domain, namely the future indicative, the subjunctive and the optative (± *ἄν*), conforms more closely to ancient or medieval-vernacular practice. The key is to focus on a grammatical context where classical Greek did not allow functional overlaps among its future/modal forms, namely declarative sentences functioning as main clauses, from which the subjunctive was almost completely excluded and where the future indicative, expressing what "will" happen, contrasted clearly with the potential optative (marked with *ἄν*), signifying what "can/could/may/might" happen.[7] In this same environment, as we have just seen, the medieval vernacular used its full array of future/modal forms with no apparent formal basis for functional differentiation. If Akropolitis uses the ancient forms in the same way, it is clear that he must have reassigned these functionally to the corresponding categories of the medieval vernacular.[8]

[7] See, for example, Goodwin (1890) for a thorough treatment of classical Greek usage.

[8] Traditionally, deviations in high-register medieval Greek from classical norms have been seen as "mistakes". Many established properties of this variety, however, are not classical *sensu stricto* but rather reflect the norms of the subsequent Atticist tradition,

Let us begin with the proem to the *History*, which clearly owes a great deal rhetorically to predecessors such as Polybius, but where, we must assume, Akropolitis was on his very best linguistic behaviour:[9]

4) Τὸ τῆς ἱστορίας χρήσιμον καὶ πρὸ ἡμῶν οἱ συγγραψάμενοι διωρίσαντο, καὶ *ἅπερ ἂν ἐκείνοις ἐπῆλθεν εἰπεῖν, ταῦτ' ἂν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐρεῖν ἔχωμεν· τί γὰρ ἂν καὶ εὕροιμεν καινότερον νόημα* τοσούτων ἱστορησάντων καὶ σύμπαν καλὸν τῆς ἱστορίας ἀποφηναμένων ἐν τοῖς σφετέροις συγγράμμασι; *τάχα* δέ, ὃ πλέον ἐκείνων ἐν τοῖς νῦν προκειμένοις ἡμῖν λέξειν ἄξιον, *τοῦτό γε ἂν τῆς ἡμετέρας συγγραφῆς προβαλούμεθα.*

> "Historiographers long before us [have] defined what is useful in history, and we too will be able to say whatever it occurred to them to say – for what more novel thought can we come up with when so many have inquired into the past and expounded the general virtue of history in their work? But in defence of our book we can perhaps present in addition all that is noteworthy in the current situation."
>
> History I (1–8)

The clauses in this extract that are important for our purposes are italicised, and each will be considered in turn below.

We begin with a sentence consisting of a generic relative clause containing an aorist indicative used to describe an indefinite series of past-time events, followed by a future-referring main clause containing a subjunctive verb form complemented by a future infinitive:

5) *ἅπερ ἂν ἐκείνοις ἐπῆλθεν εἰπεῖν, ταῦτ' ἂν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐρεῖν ἔχωμεν.*

> "Whatever it occurred to them to say, this we too will be able to say."

where forms no longer used in colloquial registers were typically subjected to functional reanalysis. Examples include the optional use of defunct optatives for subjunctives in non-past subordinate clauses (and then more generally), or of subjunctives for defunct future indicatives in simple declarative sentences (and later of optatives too). It is only the most recent innovations, i.e. those that still lack the necessary literary "credentials", such as future/modals expressed by ἵνα/νὰ + subjunctive, that are entirely absent. It is clear therefore that the tradition was indeed an evolving one, and that for the most part it was the changing grammar of the vernacular that provided the stimulus for the functional reanalyses that came to be incorporated, albeit with a time-lag, over the centuries. As we shall see, Akropolitis, towards the end of the Byzantine tradition of *belles lettres*, is no exception.

[9] The edition cited here is that of Heisenberg (1903), and it is assumed without further comment that his readings are "correct". The translations are my own, but made with Macrides (2007) very much in mind.

Does this sentence represent a fair approximation to the norms of ancient Greek? The lexical items and morphology are impeccable, as are the superficial aspects of its syntax (the preposed relative clause with a demonstrative pronoun used resumptively in the following main clause). But the *underlying* syntax is another matter. A "real" ancient Greek sentence would have no ἄν in either clause, and employ either a bare optative or an imperfect indicative in the relative clause together with the future indicative of ἔχω in the main clause governing a present or aorist (never a future) infinitive. A possible version is given in 6):

6) ἅπερ ἐκείνοις *ἐπέρχοιτο/ἐπήρχετο* εἰπεῖν, ταῦτα καὶ ἡμεῖς *εἰπεῖν ἕξομεν*.

By contrast, contemporary vernacular Greek uses a past indicative in the relative clause, which may be imperfect or aorist, though in this function the latter must co-occur with an imperfective verb in the main clause, and is itself often qualified by an overt indefinite-frequency adverb such as ποτέ. The relative clause is followed by (i) a future-referring infinitival periphrasis or (ii) νά + subjunctive in the main clause. Some possible renditions are given in 7):

7) ὅσα *πέρασαν* (ποτέ) ἀπὸ τὸν νοῦν τοὺς νὰ εἰποῦν, αὐτὰ καὶ ἐμεῖς...

(i) ...θέλουμε (ἠ)μπορέσει εἰπεῖν / θέλουμε (ἠ)μπορέσει νὰ εἰποῦμε
(ii) ...νὰ (ἠ)μπορέσουμε εἰπεῖν / νὰ (ἠ)μπορέσουμε νὰ εἰποῦμε.

It is clear, therefore, that in 5) Akropolitis is simply following the tense usage of the contemporary vernacular, namely aorist indicative in the subordinate clause and a future/ modal expression of some sort in the main clause. Note that ἄν in the relative clause reflects a medieval generalisation to past-time contexts of the "indefinite" ἄν used in ancient Greek with subjunctives in future-referring/generic subordinate clauses, including relatives; it therefore replicates in a high register the optional adverbial used with indefinite-frequency aorists in the vernacular. Through its close association with the subjunctive in ancient Greek, ἄν has also been used in the main clause to replace the vernacular subjunctive marker ἵνα/νά, thereby inducing the choice of subjunctive ἔχωμεν over future indicative ἕξομεν; once again, this "antiquing" of vernacular usage has no foundation in ancient Greek. The similarly unclassical choice of the future infinitive ἐρεῖν to complement ἔχωμεν (cf. also λέξειν ἄξιον with a meaning close to that of ἀξιόλογον) perhaps refelects overgeneralisation of the apparent freedom of choice in ancient Greek

between present/aorist infinitives and future infinitives as complements to verbs of "hoping", "promising", "threatening", "swearing" etc: contrast ἐλπίζω τοῦτο ποιῆσαι "I hope to do this" (involving a bare infinitive whose subject is controlled by the subject of the main verb) with ἐλπίζω τοῦτο ποιήσειν "I hope that I will do this" (involving the so-called nominative and infinitive construction of indirect speech).

The two remaining italicised clauses of 4) may be considered together:

8) (a) *τί γὰρ ἄν καὶ εὕροιμεν καινότερον νόημα...*;

"For what more novel thought can we come up with...?"

(b) *τάχα δὲ...τοῦτό γε ἂν τῆς ἡμετέρας συγγραφῆς προβαλούμεθα.*

"But perhaps...we can present this [material] in defence of our book."

While the optative in 8a), together with the particle ἄν in potential/epistemic use, is wholly classical, it is clear that the same meaning is also required in 8b), which contains instead a future indicative with ἄν (an impossible combination in classical Greek).[10] The key factor here is the presence of τάχα, which is often used in ancient Greek with potential ἄν and the optative in the sense "perhaps". Evidently, it is not appropriate for the author to say that "he will perhaps present certain material in defence of his book", which leaves open the possibility that he may not, and undermines the proem as a statement of intent regarding the content of the book; evidently, Akropolitis wishes to stress the possibility that "he can perhaps present such material in defence of his book", which is a simply modest way of expressing his intention to do so successfully.

Given that these two expressions are used with equivalent potential meaning, it seems reasonable to conclude that Akropolitis is employing both optative + ἄν and future indicative + ἄν in high-register Greek exactly as he might have used ἵνα/νά + subjunctive in the vernacular, namely as expressions of futurity/modality with the intended force determined by the requirements of the context (i.e. epistemic in the case of 8), as noted). Since we have already seen the subjunctive + ἄν used as yet another high-register equivalent of ἵνα/νά + subjunctive (specifically with future force in 5)), it is clear that all three represent options for

[10] A generic (subjunctive-style) interpretation of ἄν is ruled out in this case by the context.

the transposition of the functionally indeterminate vernacular future/subjunctive into a higher register.

As a further piece of evidence in support of the redeployment of ancient forms in contemporary ways, we may compare the use of vernacular-style past indicatives for ancient Greek optatives in future-referring "remote" conditions, where once again *ἄν* replaces vernacular *νά* in the apodosis:

9) ἦν γὰρ καὶ ἀληθὲς ὡς εἰ ταύτης *ἐκράτησεν* ὁ σουλτάν, οὐδὲν *ἂν* ἦν αὐτῷ ἐμποδὼν τοῦ μὴ πᾶσαν τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων χειρώσασθαι.

"For it was a fact that if the Sultan got control of the city there would be nothing to prevent him from taking the whole of Roman territory."

History IX (28–30)

## 4. Futurity and Modality in the Metaphrase of the *Alexiad*

The conclusion, based so far on the usage of Georgios Akropolitis, that the morphological resources of ancient Greek in the future/modal domain were assigned the functions of the future/modal forms of vernacular medieval Greek, is amply confirmed by the practice of the anonymous metaphrast of Anna Komnini's *Alexiad*, who also belongs to the Palaeologan era.[11] In many cases the choice of forms in the metaphrase reveals unambiguously how at least one native speaker of the period understood the classical forms used in high-register texts.

Thus we find examples of original future indicatives interpreted modally ("dynamically" in 10); δύναμαι has no corresponding future use):

10) (a) ἐγὼ μὲν τοῦ κάστρου παμμεγέθους ὄντος ἔν τινι τόπῳ *κρυβήσομαι*

"As the fortress is very large, I ??can/will hide myself in some place."

Alexiad 11.7.4

(b) ἐγὼ μέν, ἐπεὶ τὸ κάστρον μέγα ἐστί, *δύναμαι κρυβηθῆναι* ἐν μέρει τινὶ τοῦ κάστρου

[11] See footnote 5 for further information about the Paleologan metaphrases of histories of the Comnenian period.

"Since the fortress is large, I can hide myself in a part of the fortress."

Metaphrase, section 8

of subjunctives read as futures (μέλλω + infinitive has no relevant modal functions):

11) (a) ἄτερ χρημάτων ἴσθι ὡς οὐδὲ φρούριον κατασχεῖν *δυνηθῇς*

"But be sure you will never be able to take even a guard post without money."

Alexiad 11.11.6

(b) γίνωσκε ὅτι χωρὶς χρημάτων οὐδὲ ἓν καστέλλιον *μέλλετε ἐπαρεῖν*

"Be sure that without money you are not going to take even one little fort."

Metaphrase, section 100

and of optatives understood as futures (in 12), as a strong denial with οὐ μή):

12) (a) ἐκ τῆσδε τῆς Κορυφοῦς διαπέμπω...ἀγγελίας τῇ σῇ βασιλείᾳ, ἃς... οὐκ *ἂν* περιχαρῶς *ἀποδέξαιο*...

"From this town of Corfu I send news to your Majesty that you ??will/ may not receive with great joy."

Alexiad 11.12.6

(b) πέμπω σοι μηνύματα ἀπὸ τῆσδε τῆς πόλεως τῆς Κορυφὼ...· οὐ μὴ δέξεσαι ταῦτα μετὰ χαρᾶς.

"I send you messages from this town of Corfu; you will not receive these with joy"

Metaphrase, section 114

Whether or not we choose to see Anna Komnini's own usage and intentions as being on a par with the readings assigned by the metaphrast (see Horrocks (2014) for arguments that, on the whole, we should), it is again clear that the available future, subjunctive and optative forms of

ancient Greek were potentially understood as functionally interchangeable future/modal expressions in an environment where they could not be substituted one for another in the classical language but where the medieval vernacular made no formal distinctions of function.

## 5. Conclusion

We have seen that even the most carefully written high-register Greek of the Palaeologan era follows the underlying grammar of the contemporary vernacular in its treatment of futurity/modality, with the ancient morphology simply redeployed to realise contemporary syntactic-semantic categories. Whilst there is no question that this register demanded, *inter alia*, the actual lexical and morphological forms of ancient Greek, it is hoped that the brief discussion above has established the potential value of investigating the extent to which it had in fact assimilated these ancient (especially obsolete) morphological paradigms to the *underlying* syntax and semantics of vernacular medieval Greek. Obvious areas for further exploration would be the use of the aorist and the perfect, or of middle verb forms. The growing body of evidence may well lead us to conclude, once and for all, that high-register medieval Greek was indeed a "real", if also highly marked, variety of medieval Greek rather than a "bodged" and "artificial" version of its ancient counterpart.

Ioannis Telelis

# Τεχνικὸς διδάσκαλος: Georgios Pachymeres as Paraphrast of Aristotelian Meteorology

## 1. Introduction[1]

In an extensive epigram dedicated to the memory of his teacher Georgios Pachymeres, Manuel Philes[2] – the prominent Byzantine court poet of the early fourteenth century – praises the art in philosophical writing and the teaching skills of the Byzantine polymath with the following verses:

Νῦν καὶ σὺ νῦν τέθνηκας, ὦ γέρων Πλάτων·
Οὐ γὰρ μετεμψύχωσις, οὐδὲ Σωκράτης,
Γλώττης δὲ ταυτότης σε καὶ τέχνης κράτος
Ἔμπνουν καθαρῶς ὠργάνουν τῷ κειμένῳ.
Ἀριστότελες, ἆρα κομπάζεις ἔτι;
Καὶ μὴν κρυβῆναι δεῖ σε καὶ σιγὴν ἄγειν,
Κλείσαντα σαυτοῦ δυστυχῶς τὰ βιβλία.
Ὁ γὰρ κατὰ σὲ τεχνικὸς διδάσκαλος
Ἄριστον ἐκτήσατο καὶ φίλον τέλος…[3]

The whole poem is an epitaph.[4] The poet follows standard poetic formulas in order to build the praise of Georgios Pachymeres' life and deeds.[5] The above-mentioned section of the funerary poem offers a reaf-

[1] I would like to thank Ruth Macrides, Andrea Cuomo, and the anonymous reviewers for revising the final version of this article and making valuable suggestions and remarks.

[2] On Manuel Philes' biography, see recently: Rhoby (2016).

[3] Philes, *Carm.* 39, 29–37 (ed. Miller, v. 2, p. 402); cf. TLG Canon: 2718.001, DBBE: http://www.dbbe.ugent.be/occ/8936. Proposed translation: *But now, even you have died, oh old-man Plato; / for it was neither metempsyschosis nor Socrates, / but the sameness of the discourse and the majesty of the art, / which clearly delineated your animate form in the text. / Do you still boast, oh Aristotle? / Alas! You should close your own books and hide in silence, / because the skilful teacher of your doctrines / had an excellent and amiable end…*

[4] On Manuel Philes' epitaphs, cf. Papadogiannakis 1984.

[5] For a general presentation of Georgios Pachymeres' life and work, see Talbot 1991, and Zografidis 2011.

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firmation of the dead's excellence through the comparison of him with Plato and Aristotle, the two notable philosophers of the classical past that attracted a significant part of Pachymeres' authorial activity. Philes conveys an implied excellence-*cliché* (*Überbietungstopos*) by pointing out that Pachymeres' death makes the passing away of Plato and Aristotle definite, because both were still "alive" in Pachymeres' writings: Plato was lively echoed through the similarity in style and greatness of art in Pachymeres' text. On the other hand, Aristotle was still "active" through the teaching of his doctrines by Pachymeres; the death of the skilful teacher (τεχνικὸς διδάσκαλος) will make now Aristotle close his books and hide in silence.[6]

These verses have drawn scholarly attention, mainly due to the reference of the *status* of Georgios Pachymeres as a teacher and his possible role in the Byzantine higher education of the Palaeologan period.[7] However, why does Philes describe Pachymeres as "skilful" teacher of the Aristotelian philosophy? Obviously, the teacher was highly qualified in philosophical writing and efficient in transferring the spirit of Plato and the doctrines of Aristotle, as if the philosophers were still alive. But, if we take into account the educational bond between Philes and Pachymeres, what can we conjecture about the educational needs the student of the late thirteenth century might have when studying philosophy, and what kind of help might have been offered to him by his "skilful" teacher in the framework of the higher education curriculum of their time?[8] I suppose that in the perception of the student, the "skilful" teacher was the master who effectively assisted the former in learning his lessons of Aristotelian philosophy. Thus, if we pass over the poetic use of Philes' praise to his dead teacher, are there features in Pachymeres' philosophical work (seen from the point of view of his student) that verify his "skilfulness" in teaching the doctrines of Aristotle?

This article attempts to focus attention on tasks that the Byzantine scholar and teacher Georgios Pachymeres implemented when paraphrased the Aristotelian *corpus*. More specifically, it explores aspects

[6] The standard poetic feature of comparison (*synkrisis*) of the person praised with great personages of the past, is posed in this case in the form of questions addressed to the persons with whom the dead is compared. For an analysis of the excellence-*cliché* (*Überbietungstopos*) in the epitaphs of Manuel Philes with a reference to this particular epigram, see Papadogiannakis 1984: 113–115.

[7] Cacouros 2006: 16, n. 56 suggests that the term τεχνικὸς (in verse 36, see above n. 3) falls within the technical vocabulary of Aristotelian Logic.

[8] For the higher education *curricula* of the Palaeologan period, cf. Constantinides 1982: 113–132, Fryde 2000: 73–77, and Nousia 2016: 29–48.

of the compositional method applied by the Byzantine polymath in *Philosophia* book 5 (*In Aristotelis Meteorologica* Commentary). The probable target audience that may be assumed through a sociolinguistic approach of evidence gathered from this philosophical paraphrase, as well as the perception of Aristotle's doctrines by that audience, are both topics touched on in this article through the discussion of specific passages and examples. Furthermore, Pachymeres' communicative purposes in relation to his probable target audience are approached through the evaluation of specific linguistic and stylistic choices in the context of *Philosophia* book 5 paraphrase.

## 2. Georgios Pachymeres' *Philosophia*: Aim and Method

Georgios Pachymeres – a highly educated member of the 13th/early 14th c. Byzantine elite – is definitely one of the most acknowledged historians of the Palaeologan Renaissance, mainly due to his formal historical work *Συγγραφικαὶ Ἱστορίαι* (*History*). This work gives an account of the political and military affairs of Byzantine history for the early Palaeologan period from the point of view of a scholar who acquired high ecclesiastical offices,[9] and it has been extensively analyzed from various points of view by many researchers.[10] The other side of Pachymeres' authorial activity was that of the philosopher.

Pachymeres' *œuvre* encompasses not only historical, but also rhetorical,[11] scientific,[12] and philosophical works. In recent years, his

[9] For the period c. 1265 – c. 1310 Pachymeres assumed the following offices: *diakonos* (deacon) of St Sophia after 1265, *didaskalos tou Apostolou* (professor of New Testament exegesis at the Patriarchal School) in 1277, *hieromnemon* (responsible for ordinations) in 1285, *protekdikos* (head of the *ekdikeion*, a court of the Patriarchate) and *dikaiophylax* (imperial judge in the ecclesiastical affairs) until his death c. 1310; cf. Hunger 1978: 447 and Lampakis 2004: 21–38. On the Byzantine offices, cf. Darrouzès 1970: passim.

[10] See for example Albert Failler's numerous publications on various philological and historical topics arising from Pachym. *Hist.*; for a list of them, cf. Lampakis 2004: 237–238. For modern approaches to this work, cf. Petrides 2009 and Stanković 2012.

[11] On Pachymeres' rhetorical *Progymnasmata* and their value in the Byzantine rhetoric, see Lampakis 2004: 135–150.

[12] Around 1300, Georgios Pachymeres wrote the *Quadrivium* or Σύνταγμα τῶν τεσσάρων μαθημάτων, a scientific manual intended for the teaching of sciences in the Patriarchal School. This book was very influential in late Byzantium; cf. Constantinides 1982: 62, esp. n. 63, Tihon 2008, and Katsiampoura 2010.

prolific authorial activity as collector, scribe, and editor of philosophical texts has attracted the attention of the scholarly community.[13] Georgios Pachymeres was the author of (i) "running commentaries" on Aristotle's *Organon, Physics* (?), *Metaphysics,* and *Nicomachean Ethics*,[14] (ii) a commentary on Plato's *Parmenides*,[15] and (iii) a bulky treatise under the title *Philosophia*. With this last work, Pachymeres delivered a *compendium*-like synopsis in paraphrase form of almost the entire *corpus Aristotelicum*.[16] Since the interest in Aristotle's texts and doctrines was reinforced during the Palaeologan era, the publication of helpful aids for Byzantine scholars and students of the 13th-14th c. in form of handbooks and companions for instruction in the Aristotelian philosophy meets the new needs.[17] Next to texts that included works of the late antique Aristotelian commentators, some contemporary authorial attempts appeared – written in the form of commentaries, *compendia,* paraphrases, or texts of hybrid form – that combined passages derived from the actual Aristotelian text with material drawn from commentaries of the late antiquity.[18] In this context, *Philosophia* was an attempt by Pachymeres to produce a hybrid philosophical work – a *compendium* and a paraphrase[19] – intended to comprehensively summarize the most important topics of certain Aristotelian philosophical works, for admittedly didactic goals.[20]

[13] Pachymeres' handwriting can be identified in several manuscripts of philosophical texts. On his activity as a scribe, cf. Harlfinger 1996: 48 and Golitsis 2010.

[14] For a detailed presentation of Pachymeres' philosophical "running commentaries" and their teaching goals, see Golitsis 2008a. The attribution of an extant Aristotelian Commentary *On Physics* to Georgios Pachymeres rather than Michael Psellos is discussed in Golitsis 2008b.

[15] See Pachym. *In Pl. Prm.*

[16] The 12 books of *Philosophia* epitomize the following Aristotelian treatises: 1) *Organon*; 2) *Physics*; 3) *On the Heavens*; 4) *On Coming-to-Be and Passing Away*; 5) *Meteorology*; 6) *On the Parts of Animals*; 7) *On the Soul*; 8) *On Sense and Sensibles*; 9) *On the Beginnings of Animals*; 10) *Metaphysics*; 11) *Nicomachean Ethics*; 12) *On Colors, On Indivisible Lines, Mechanics*. For an early presentation and evaluation of *Philosophia*, cf. Littig 1891.

[17] More than 150 extant Aristotelian manuscripts were produced during the Palaeologan period. For the intellectual trends regarding philosophy in the early Palaeologan period, cf. Fryde 2000: 4–8.

[18] A great number of commentaries, paraphrases and *compendia* of Aristotelian treatises, mainly but not exclusively, on logic and natural philosophy were produced in the 13th and early 14th c. See Bydén 2003: 26–27, Golitsis 2007, and Ierodiakonou and Bydén 2014: section 1.3.

[19] For the specification of Pachymeres' *Philosophia* as a hybrid philosophical genre, cf. Ierodiakonou and Bydén 2014: section 1.2.

[20] Cf. Golitsis 2012: 12.

The work was compiled in the form of a handbook of Aristotelian philosophy. Both its widespread reproduction in several manuscripts (14th through the 18th c.),[21] and its early translation into Latin (16th c.)[22] reflect the increased interest in the study of Aristotle during the Palaeologan period, as well as the high appreciation of it as a handbook during the late Byzantine and Early Modern period.[23]

It has been argued that *Philosophia* – in its general concept – was a work of polemical character. Through this work, Georgios Pachymeres (professor at one of the academic faculties that were controlled by the Patriarchate of Constantinople) attempted to reaffirm the value of the study of philosophy and science against the strict monastic ideals that Patriarch Athanasios I (1303–1309) promoted by rejecting as unfavourable the study of the profane literature.[24] Beyond that possible "political dimension" of his work, Pachymeres had the conscious aim to offer a condensed introductory interpretation of the Aristotelian philosophy. This aim is clearly stated in the Preface of *Philosophia*, where the author implies his target audience, the identity, and the aim of the work by stating that he: "*decided to compose this book, entitled Philosophia, which carries all the wisdom of the Stagirite in replicated and synoptic form... for the recollection by others of the goods of wisdom, so that those who neglect philosophy can admire it*".[25] But, who were that "others" who needed to

[21] Thanks to the palaeographical studies of Dieter Harlfinger, we can attribute with great certainty the two earliest manuscript witnesses of the *Philosophia* to the hand of Pachymeres himself: 1) ms. Berolinensis Hamilton 512, early 14th c. (cf. CAGB Project, Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften: http://cagb-db.bbaw.de/handschriften/handschrift.xql?id = 9300 for updated codicological information on this ms.); 2) ms. Parisinus gr. 1930, early 14th c., which is a partly-autograph by Georgios Pachymeres; cf. Harlfinger (1971: 357–360) and Golitsis (2010). For a detailed presentation of the manuscript tradition of *Philosophia* see Pappa 2002: 37*-105*.

[22] Latin translation: Venetiis 1545, Lugduni 1547, Parisiis 1547, 1555, and Basileae 1560; cf. Benakis 2009: 67.

[23] Pachymeres' *Philosophia* is preserved in a total of 36 mss.: 6 of them (2 autographs + 4 apographs) are dated from the 14th c., 5 from the 15th c., while 23 mss. date to the 16th c. and 2 to the 17th-18th c.; cf. Pappa 2002: 37*-38*. To the earliest 14th c. mss. one should add two more, which preserve an abridged version of the original *Philosophia*; cf. Harlfinger 2011.

[24] Golitsis 2009; 2012: esp. 118. On Patriarch Athanasios' I ecclesiastical reforms based on strict and ascetic models, cf. Boojamra 1993.

[25] «Ἔδοξε καὶ βίβλος ξυντέθειται αὕτη, ᾗ δὴ Φιλοσοφία τὸ ὄνομα, φέρουσα πᾶσαν τὴν τοῦ Σταγειρίτου σοφίαν ἐν τύπῳ καὶ κατὰ σύνοψιν... τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις τῶν καλῶν τῆς σοφίας ὑπόμνησις, ἵν' οἷς ἀμελεῖται φιλοσοφία, τούτοις ἔχοι θαυμάζεσθαι» (Laurentianus plut. 86.22, f. 6v). The Preface of *Philosophia* is missing from the earliest mss. Berolinensis Hamilton 512 and Parisinus gr. 1930, but it is preserved in the mss. Laurentianus plut.

"recall the ancient wisdom" and "those who neglect philosophy"? Despite the evident emphasis on rhetoric and beyond the implied political-ecclesiastical addressees of the *Philosophia,* the structure and method of the work demonstrate that *Philosophia* was intended for readers who sought to acquire an overview of Aristotle's wisdom organized in a thematic basis through the access of a new text that would make superfluous the need of the original.[26]

Pachymeres' general method of presenting and commenting upon representative segments of text derived from the Aristotelian treatises verifies the existence of a conscious plan of work, even though one can hardly come across any self-reflective thought relevant to the method of work he applied in *Philosophia*.[27] Contrary to other paraphrastic treatises of the early Palaeologan period (such as the Aristotelian paraphrases composed by Sophonias and Theodoros Metochites) that included detailed self-reflective observations in their prefaces,[28] Pachymeres does not provide evidence concerning the method he applied in *Philosophia*, even though the whole synthesis gives the impression that it was the result of a well-planned creative intellectual enterprise. Nonetheless, there are comments regarding Pachymeres' method of work as paraphrast in another text. In the introductory letter to the Paraphrase of the *Corpus Dionysiacum,* Pachymeres defines the method he applied for paraphrasing and commenting on his theological source with the following phrases: "*But let me now begin my word for word paraphrase, occasionally explicating in more detail according to my capability, and clarifying the hidden meanings, sometimes by means of my own interpretation, sometimes by means of that of the ancient commentators*".[29] These observations probably reflect methodological principles that the author applied also in the case of *Philosophia*, while he paraphrased and commented on the

86.22 and Athos Iveron 191 [4311]; cf. Golitsis 2009: 214, n. 18, and Bydén 2006: esp. 237, n. 18.

[26] Cf. Bydén 2005: esp. 307.

[27] In the Preface of *Philosophia* Pachymeres describes his motive in undertaking the task of writing the *Philsophia* as "*a means to forget [my] own hardships, and a reminder of the joy of philosophy*": «ὡς τι τῶν χαλεπῶν λαθικηδὲς ἔπασμα, τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις τῶν καλῶν τῆς σοφίας ὑπόμνησις» (Laurentianus plut. 86.22, f. 6v); cf. above n. 24.

[28] Cf. Bydén 2006, and Manolova 2009.

[29] «Ἤδη δὲ ἀρκτέον ἡμῖν καὶ τῆς κατὰ ῥῆμα παραφράσεως, ἔστιν οὗ καὶ διεξοδικώτερον ἐπεξηγουμένοις κατὰ τὸ ἐγχωροῦν ἡμῖν καὶ τὸ τῶν νοημάτων διασαφοῦσι κρύφιον, ποῦ μὲν ἐξ ἑαυτῶν, ποῦ δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς τῶν παλαιῶν ἐξηγήσεως»: PG v. 3, col. 108C–116B, here 116B.

Aristotelian treatises.[30] Even though Pachymeres did not apply the same method of elaboration and synthesis in the various books of *Philosophia*, modern scholars have concluded that the Byzantine author processed the texts of Aristotle in the following way: i. He used to quote Aristotelian passages either *verbatim*, or in rephrased form by omitting common phrases or by replacing original terms or phrases with synonyms. ii. He used to interpolate his own statements by adding words or clauses as examples or explanations – some of them culled from other authors – aiming to clarify the meaning of the Aristotelian thought. Thus, the application of this method resulted to the production of a continuous running text in the form of a hybrid between a paraphrase and a philosophical *compendium* that aimed to focus on the main ideas of Aristotle, rather than a commentary articulated in lemmas and comments as those produced by the late antique Aristotelian commentators.[31]

## 3. *Philosophia* Book 5 Original Passages

The fifth book of Georgios Pachymeres' *Philosophia,* entitled "τῶν μετεωρικῶν", deals with Aristotelian meteorology.[32] In three sections – referred to as "titles" (τίτλοι)– and 17 chapters (κεφάλαια) the author epitomized the four books of Aristotle's *Meteorologica*. The final product of the paraphrastic and epitomizing method applied by the Byzantine scholar was a synopsis of Aristotle's thoughts on earth sciences (specifically on weather phenomena, climate, astronomy, geography, mineralogy, and chemistry), with a reduction of the original source by almost 50%. At first glance, *Philosophia* book 5 appears to be a compilation of passages excerpted from the relevant Aristotelian treatise; in other words, the result of a plain copy-paste process. But, a closer examination reveals that Pachymeres applied the aforementioned paraphrastic meth-

[30] The ongoing critical editions of the separate books of Pachymeres' *Philosophia* offer a solid textual basis for understanding the method that Pachymeres applied for the synthesis of each treatise. *Philosophia* is currently edited by the Academy of Athens under the auspices of the International Union of Academies in the series *CPhMA-CAB*: http://www.academyofathens.gr/el/Publ-Intern_Assoc_of_Classical_Archaeology_and_Intern_ Union_of_Academies.

[31] See the Prolegomena in the critical editions of the already published books of *Philosophia*: Pappa 2002: esp. 33*-34*, Oikonomakos 2005: esp. 26*, Pappa 2008: esp. 33*-36*, Telelis 2012: esp. 37* ff.; 2016: 50*-71*. Cf. also Ierodiakonou and Bydén 2014: section 1.2, Zografidis 2011: esp. 396 and Bydén 2005: esp. 308; 2008.

[32] Text's critical edition: Pachym. *In Mete.*

od with the aim of producing a synthesis that would combine original Aristotelian cores of thought with his own comments and explanations in the form of a new running text. This new text, on the one hand, elucidates and exemplifies Aristotle's ideas, and on the other hand, it transfers some thoughts of Pachymeres on selected topics, formulated as comments or explanations. The Aristotelian ideas that Pachymeres included and excluded from his source in order to condense the *Meteorologica*, is a topic out of the scope of this article.[33] However, it would be worth distinguishing here between passages reproduced (fully or almost fully) *verbatim* from the Aristotelian authority, and textual material interpolated by Pachymeres himself, because this latter material, which deviates from Aristotle's *Meteorologica*, mirrors linguistic and stylistic choices of the author, and, in my opinion, may indicate his target audience if it is approached from the point of view of sociolinguistics.[34] In the following paragraphs I present some original passages derived from Pachymeres' *Philosophia* book 5, and I attempt to evaluate their function in the whole synthesis by approaching them as indicators of communication between the author and the target audience of his work.

### 3.1. Examples from *Philosophia, In Mete.* 1

The first section (τίτλος α΄) of *Philosophia* book 5 is devoted to the two kinds of exhalation (ἀναθυμίασις):[35] the vaporous (ἀτμιδώδης) and the windy – dry, and smoke-like – (πνευματώδης). In the six chapters of this first section, Pachymeres discusses the "meteors" (μετέωρα), i.e. the various phenomena of the intermediate space between heaven and earth, and correlates the common origin of them with the action of the fundamental and distinctive qualities of the two exhalations. The excerpts from Aristotle's *Meteorologica* book I, which Pachymeres considered for the compilation of the first section of his treatise, are organized on the basis of the specific thematic core that the action of the two types of exhalation form. The exposition of the Aristotelian exhalation theory at the very beginning of the initial section of the book shows that Pachymeres' aim was to explain the variety of the phenomena that pertain the sublunary realm as a result of the action of those two fundamental quali-

[33] This topic is discussed in the Prolegomena of the critical edition of *Philosophia* book 5; cf. Telelis 2012: 37*-48*.

[34] On the application of sociolinguistic theory on Byzantine learned texts, cf. Karyolemou 2014.

[35] Pachym. *In Mete.* 1 (p. 3,5–25,9).

ties. This aim was served by several explanatory comments. Furthermore, Pachymeres interpolated various examples and used his own words and phrases that – in all possibility – would sound familiar to his Byzantine target audience. Instances:

### 3.1.1. Discussion of the Meteors Pertaining to the Middle Celestial Band[36]

| *Arist. Mete. I (341b.24–35)* | *Pachym. In Mete. 1.1.2 (p. 5,8–22)* |
|---|---|
| Διαφέρει δ' ἤδη κατὰ τὴν τοῦ ὑπεκκαύματος θέσιν ἢ τὸ πλῆθος· | Διαφέρει δὲ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ ὑπεκκαύματος θέσιν ἢ τὸ πλῆθος, *ὥστε ἄλλως καὶ ἄλλως γίνεσθαι τὸ φαινόμενον καὶ διαφόρους φέρειν ὀνομασίας.* |
| ἂν μὲν γὰρ πλάτος ἔχῃ καὶ μῆκος τὸ ὑπέκκαυμα, πολλάκις ὁρᾶται καιομένη φλὸξ ὥσπερ ἐν ἀρούρᾳ καιομένης καλάμης, | ἂν μὲν γὰρ πλάτος ἔχῃ καὶ μῆκος τὸ ὑπέκκαυμα, πολλάκις ὁρᾶται καιομένη φλὸξ *ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ*, ὥσπερ ἐν ἀρούρᾳ καιομένης καλάμης· *καὶ λέγεται τότε φλόξ ὅτι καὶ μῆκος καὶ πλάτος ἐπέλαβε τὸ ὑπέκκαυμα.* |
| ἐὰν δὲ κατὰ μῆκος μόνον, οἱ καλούμενοι δαλοὶ καὶ αἶγες καὶ ἀστέρες. | ἐὰν δὲ κατὰ μῆκος μόνον, οἱ καλούμενοι δαλοὶ φαίνονται καὶ αἶγες καὶ ἀστέρες. |
| ἐὰν μὲν πλέον τὸ ὑπέκκαυμα ᾖ κατὰ τὸ μῆκος ἢ τὸ πλάτος, ὅταν μὲν οἷον ἀποσπινθηρίζῃ ἅμα καιόμενον (τοῦτο δὲ γίγνεται διὰ τὸ παρεκπυροῦσθαι, κατὰ μικρὰ μέν, ἐπ' ἀρχὴν δέ), αἴξ καλεῖται, | ἐὰν δὲ πλεῖον τὸ ὑπέκκαυμα ᾖ κατά τε μῆκος καὶ πλάτος, ὅταν μὲν οἷον *ἀποσπινθηρακίζῃ* (τοῦτο δὲ γίνεται διὰ τὸ παρεκπυροῦσθαι τὰ μόρια τοῦ ὑπεκκαύματος, κατὰ μικρὰ μέν, ἐπ' ἀρχὴν δὲ μίαν), αἴξ καλεῖται *ἀπό τῶν τῆς αἰγὸς τριχῶν ἀραιῶν φρισσουσῶν τὴν ὀνομασίαν σχοῦσα·* ὅταν δ' ἄνευ τούτου τοῦ πάθους, δαλός. |
| ὅταν δ' ἄνευ τούτου τοῦ πάθους, δαλός. | |
| ἐὰν δὲ τὰ μήκη τῆς ἀναθυμιάσεως κατὰ μικρά τε καὶ πολλαχῇ διεσπαρμένα ᾖ καὶ ὁμοίως κατὰ πλάτος καὶ βάθος, οἱ δοκοῦντες ἀστέρες διάττειν γίγνονται. | ἐὰν δὲ τὰ μήκη τῆς ἀναθυμιάσεως κατὰ μικρά τε καὶ πολλαχῇ διεσπαρμένα ᾖ καὶ ὁμοίως κατὰ πλάτος καὶ βάθος, οἱ ἀστέρες οἱ διάττειν δοκοῦντες γίνονται, *οὓς καὶ διάττοντας λέγομεν.* |

A comparison between Aristotle's text and Pachymeres' paraphrase shows interesting points of deviation from the Aristotelian source-text. While expounding on the differences of the meteors that pertain the middle celestial band and occur as consequence from differences in the orientation and quantity of the existing inflammable material, Pachymeres interpolates that different phenomena have different names:

[36] Pachymeres' original text is printed in italics. Text that reflects influence from late antique commentators or other sources is printed in expanded spacing.

burning flame (φλόξ), torches (δαλοί), goats (αἴγες), and shooting-stars (ἀστέρες οἱ διάττειν δοκοῦντες). For two of these phenomena Pachymeres offers further details:

i. In the case of the burning flame (φλόξ), Pachymeres paraphrases Alexander of Aphrodisias in order to explain that this phenomenon appears under certain conditions of the inflammable material.[37]

ii. In the case of goats (αἴγες), Pachymeres deviates from Aristotle and explains the name of the phenomenon on the basis of the fact that the inflammable material may emit sparks. Interestingly, he paraphrases the *hapax* verb ἀποσπινθηρίζῃ – found in Aristotle – with the form ἀποσπινθηρακίζῃ,[38] which seems to be a combination of the forms ἀποσπινθηρίζω and σπινθηρακίζω, the latter being a verb found in some texts of the Byzantine homiletic and dogmatic literature.[39] Moreover, with the comment: αἴξ καλεῖται ἀπὸ τῶν τῆς αἰγὸς τριχῶν ἀραιῶν φρισσουσῶν τὴν ὀνομασίαν σχοῦσα Pachymeres explains the name αἴγες as referring to goat's scanty hair that stands on end. Ioannes Philoponus and Olympiodorus explain that name from the flocks of the goat's wool, which hang down and are separated from one another.[40] With his explanation, Pachymeres deviated from the antique commentators' relevant comments having most probably in mind an image from Hesiod's *Works and Days*: "[Boreas] blows through the goat's fine hair".[41] In any case, the quotation of this image indicates that the author emphasized on the explanation of the meteors' name.

Pachymeres' own authorial style in the above-mentioned passage is observed in the expression ἄλλως καὶ ἄλλως, detectable also in his *Quadrivium* and in the Commentary *In Platonis Parmenidem*,[42] as well as

[37] Alex. Aphr. *In Mete.* 21.13–14: ἂν μὲν γὰρ τὸ ὑπέκκαυμα τοῦτο καὶ πλάτος καὶ μῆκος ἔχῃ ἐξαφθέν, φαίνεται καιομένη φλόξ.

[38] Pachym. *In Mete.* p. 5,16.

[39] Arist. *Mete.* 341b.30: ἀποσπινθηρίζῃ; cf. LSJ 218. TLG search results for σπινθηρακίζω: Neophytus Reclusus (Ὁμιλία 9, 23.2), Ioannes Mavropus (Κανὼν Κοσμᾶ καὶ Δαμιανοῦ 5.150), Nicetas Choniates (Ἱστορία 2.26.9), Georgius Metochites (Δογματικὴ Ἱστορία I. 86.19). The type ἀποσπινθηρακίζω appears also once in a twelfth-century Byzantine poem (Racz 1941: II 480); cf. LBG 179.

[40] Phlp. *In Mete.* 60.5–6: καὶ γὰρ οἱ τῆς αἰγὸς μαλλοὶ διεστηκότες ἀλλήλων ἐκκρεμεῖς εἰσι καὶ ἀπῃωρημένοι τῆς αἰγός; Olymp. *In Mete.* 38.1–2: καὶ γίνονται αἱ αἶγες διὰ τὸ ἐοικέναι τοὺς ἀποσπινθηρισμοὺς τῶν αἰγῶν τοῖς ἐκκρεμέσι μαλλοῖς. Cf. also Wilson 2014: 120, n. 8.

[41] Hesiod, *Op.* 516: καί τε δι' αἴγα ἄησι τανύτριχα. In this context, Ideler 1834–1836: v. I, 362–363 did not understand "goat" as deriving from the animal, but from the verb ἀίσσω, "to dart"; cf. Wilson 2014: *ibid.*

[42] Pachym. *Quadrivium* 4.14.176 (389,14); *In Pl. Prm.* 30,34.

in the use of first-person plural verb while mentioning the name of the shooting stars: *οὕς* καὶ διάττοντας λέγομεν. This last phrase may be interpreted as sign of oral speech in Pachymeres' text.

### 3.1.2. Discussion of Exhalation's Ignition in the Lower Celestial Band

| *Arist. Mete. 341b.35–342a.3* | *Pachym. In Mete. 1.1.3 (p. 6,1–22)* |
|---|---|
| ὁτὲ μὲν οὖν ὑπὸ τῆς κινήσεως ἡ ἀναθυμίασις ἐκκαιομένη γεννᾷ αὐτά· | Ὁτὲ μὲν οὖν ὑπὸ τῆς κινήσεως ἡ ἀναθυμίασις ἐκκαιομένη γεννᾷ ταῦτα *καὶ ἔστιν αὕτη ποιητικὴ αἰτία τῶν τοιούτων,* ὁτὲ δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ διὰ τὴν ψύξιν συνισταμένου ἀέρος ἐκθλίβεται καὶ ἐκκρίνεται τὸ θερμόν· διὸ *καὶ ἡ φορὰ τῶν τοιούτων ἁπάντων ἔοικε ῥίψει. ἡ γὰρ ἄνω κίνησις ἐκκαίει τὸ ὑπέκκαυμα· καὶ ἔδει μὲν ἀναχθῆναι, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν ἐκεῖσε τοῦ ἀέρος πύκνωσιν, μὴ δυνάμενον ἀνάγεσθαι, ἐκθλίβεται κάτω· καὶ ἔοικεν ἡ φορὰ ῥίψει.* |
| ὁτὲ δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ διὰ τὴν ψύξιν συνισταμένου ἀέρος ἐκθλίβεται καὶ ἐκκρίνεται τὸ θερμόν, διὸ καὶ ἔοικεν ἡ φορὰ ῥίψει μᾶλλον αὐτῶν, | *οὐ δεῖ δὲ ἀπορεῖν πῶς ἄνω τούτου πεπυκνωμένος ἀὴρ εὑρίσκεται, ὁ μὴ ἐὼν αὐτὸ ἄνω φέρεσθαι· πῶς δὲ καὶ αὐτὸ ἐξεκαύθη, εἴπερ ἀὴρ ψυχρὸς ἦν αὐτῷ ἐπικείμενος; οὐδὲ γὰρ ἅμα ἐν ἑνὶ τόπῳ ἅπαν τοῦτο γίνεται· ἀλλὰ τὸ ὑπέκκαυμα ἴσως ὧδε τυχὸν θερμότητος ἐκ τῆς κινήσεως τῆς ἄνω, οὐκ ἐμποδίζοντος ἐκεῖσε τοῦ ἀέρος διὰ τὸ εὔκρατον εἶναι τότε ὅτε ἐξήπτετο τὸ ὑπέκκαυμα, ἦν πρὸς τῷ φέρεσθαι ἄνω· μήπω δὲ τελειωθέντος ἢ καὶ ἐμποδισθέντος ἀπό τινος αἰτίας, ἐν τοσούτῳ εὐαλλοίωτος ὢν ἀήρ, ἅμα ἀλλοιοῦται ἐν ἄλλῳ τόπῳ ἔκ τινος συμπεσούσης αἰτίας καὶ ἐναπολαμβάνει φερόμενον· καὶ οὕτως ἐκεῖνο περικλεισθέν, μὴ ἔχον ἄνω ἐκθλιβῆναι διὰ τὴν πύκνωσιν τὴν ἐκεῖ τοῦ ἀέρος, κάτω ἐκθλίβεται. καὶ οὕτως ἡ φορὰ ἐκείνη ἔοικε ῥίψει,* ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ ἐκκαύσει. |
| ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ ἐκκαύσει. | *πολλάκις γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο γίνεται· καὶ οὐ γεγονὸς θερμὸν πρότερον, εἶτα ἐκθλίβεται διὰ τὰς ῥηθείσας αἰτίας.* |

In the discussion of the meteors appearing in the lower celestial band – where the mix of the inflammable material with the cooler wet air may give rise to ejected shooting stars – Pachymeres points out that the ignition of the exhalation, because of its motion, produces the previously described phenomena of burning flames, torches, goats, etc.,[43] and mentions that the motion (κίνησις) is the efficient cause (ποιητικὴ αἰτία) of those phenomena.[44] At other circumstances, when the air is condensed by cold, squeezes out and ejects the hot element, and makes the meteors' motion resembling to the motion of a thrown object rather than to the motion of running fire. Here Pachymeres writes his own lengthy explanation on how the fire (ὑπέκκαυμα) gets ignited by the motion upwards (ἄνω κίνησις ἐκκαίει), as well as on the existence of condensed air (πεπυκνωμένος ἀήρ) above the inflammable material that may take a course resembling to a projectile (φορὰ ἔοικε ῥίψει) rather than to burning (ἐκκαύσει). To Pachymeres' own authorial style in this context belong: i. The repetition of expressions (ἔοικεν ἡ φορὰ ῥίψει) that serves the subordination of his explanation to Aristotle's syllogism. ii. The use of interrogative expressions (e.g. οὐ δεῖ δὲ ἀπορεῖν[45] or πῶς ἄνω τούτου πεπυκνωμένος ἀὴρ εὑρίσκεται or πῶς δὲ καὶ αὐτὸ ἐξεκαύθη, εἴπερ ἀὴρ ψυχρὸς ἦν αὐτῷ ἐπικείμενος), which address rhetorical questions followed by the appropriate answers. These instances probably reflect a stylistic influence of the late antique commentaries by Alexander of Aphrodisias, Olympiodorus, and Ioannes Philoponus, which Pachymeres definitely consulted while he was compiling Aristotle's *Meteorologica*.[46] Furthermore, such style of writing gives the impression of a dialogue or a conversation with the reader and may be interpreted as sign of oral speech in the text. iii. The use of expressions that reflect Pachymeres' disposition to investigate the causes of the phenomena (καὶ ἔστιν αὕτη ποιητικὴ αἰτία τῶν τοιούτων or διὰ τὰς ῥηθείσας αἰτίας).

[43] See above p. 127 ff.

[44] This causal interpretation is probably culled from Arist. *GC* 324b.14: ἔστι δὲ τὸ ποιητικὸν αἴτιον ὡς ὅθεν ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς κινήσεως.

[45] This expression is a litotes figure of speech that introduces an interrogation; it is also detected in Pachym. *Quadrivium* 4.8.34 (365,31): πάντως δὲ οὐ χρὴ ἀπορεῖν πῶς πέμπτον καὶ οὐ πρῶτον σῶμα λέγει τὸ οὐράνιον ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης.

[46] Cf. Telelis 2012: 7*.

### 3.1.3. Discussion of Meteors' Apparent Motion

| *Arist. Mete. 342a.3–33 (passim)* | *Pachym. In Mete. 1.1.3 (p. 7,1–21)* |
|---|---|
| … ὥσπερ ἡ ὑπὸ τοὺς λύχνους τιθεμένη ἀναθυμίασις ἀπὸ τῆς ἄνωθεν φλογὸς ἅπτει τὸν κάτωθεν λύχνον… | *γίνεται δὲ ἡ ἔκκαυσις ὡς ἐπὶ τῶν λύχνων·* ὥσπερ γὰρ ἡ ὑπὸ τοὺς λύχνους τιθεμένη ἀναθυμίασις ἀπὸ τῆς ἄνωθεν φλογὸς ἅπτει τὸν κάτω λύχνον *διὰ τὸ εὐφυὲς τῆς ἀναθυμιάσεως πρὸς τὴν ἄναψιν*, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις γίνεται. *κεῖται γὰρ ἡ καπνώδης ἐκείνη ἀναθυμίασις κατὰ μῆκος τοῦ ἀέρος ἄνωθεν κάτω καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐκπυρωθείσης ἐπιλαμβάνεται ἡ φλὸξ ἐκείνη τοῦ σύνεγγυς διὰ τὴν εὐφυίαν πρὸς ἄναψιν τοῦ ὑπεκκαύματος τοῦ κατὰ μῆκος κειμένου· καὶ οὕτως ἡ ἔκκαυσις διερχομένη, καὶ συνεχῶς τὸ μὲν πρότερον ἀπολείπουσα τοῦ δ᾽ ἐγγὺς λαμβανομένη, δόκησιν παρέχει κινήσεως συνεχοῦς. ἡ δὲ κατὰ ῥίψιν μᾶλλον, πλειστάκις εἰς τὰ πλάγια φέρεται* διὰ τὸ δύο φέρεσθαι φοράς· βίᾳ μὲν κάτω, φύσει δὲ ἄνω. *καὶ τὴν μὲν φύσει, μὴ δύνασθαι φέρεσθαι διὰ τὴν πυκνότητα τοῦ ἄνω ἀέρος· τὴν δέ, μὴ βούλεσθαι κινεῖσθαι διὰ τὸ παρὰ φύσιν εἶναι. καὶ διαταῦτα ἐμποδιζόμενον μὲν τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄνω μὴ πεφυκὸς δὲ τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ κάτω φοράν, φερόμενον κάτω, οὐδὲ τὴν φυσικὴν ἀπολείπει κίνησιν· κἀντεῦθεν προσοχθίζον τῇ κάτω τὴν δ᾽ ἄνω ζητοῦν, ἀναγκαίως μέσον δυοῖν τούτων φέρεται. καὶ ἔστι τοῦτο τὸ πλάγιον.* κινοῦνται δὲ τῇ ἐκθλίψει καὶ εἰς γῆν καὶ εἰς θάλασσαν, ὥσπερ οἱ ἐκ τῶν δακτύλων πυρῆνες *(δηλονότι τὰ ἐλαιόκοκκα)*. |
| τὰ πλεῖστα δ᾽ εἰς τὸ πλάγιον διὰ τὸ δύο φέρεσθαι φοράς, βίᾳ μὲν κάτω, φύσει δ᾽ ἄνω… | |
| ὥσπερ οἱ ἐκ τῶν δακτύλων πυρῆνες, ὥστε καὶ εἰς τὴν γῆν καὶ εἰς τὴν θάλατταν φαίνεσθαι πίπτοντα. | |

Another interesting passage in the first section of *Philosophia* book 5, which includes Pachymeres' own comments, is the discussion of how the burning light of a meteor can appear as moving in a slanted direction in spite of its natural motion upwards. At this point Aristotle's source-text offers a concise analysis and presents two empirical examples (the extinguished lamps [λύχνους], and the kernels [πυρῆνες]) in order to illustrate the cause of the meteors' apparent motion. In Pachymeres' paraphrase, the Aristotelian analysis is supplemented by further arguments provided

by the Byzantine scholar. Aiming to support the action of the exhalation in the process of re-lighting a freshly extinguished lamp, Pachymeres attributes the ignition of the lamp "to the natural disposition of the exhalation towards lighting up" (διὰ τὸ εὐφυὲς τῆς ἀναθυμιάσεως πρὸς τὴν ἄναψιν). The rare word ἄναψις[47] is a technical term found also in three different passages in Pachymeres' *Declamationes* and *History*.[48] On the other hand, the expression παρέχειν δόκησιν ("to give the impression of apparition") – common in Thucydides, Plutarch, and in many Byzantine historians and chronographers (Procopius, Georgius Cedrenus, Ioannes Scylitzes) – is also found in Pachymeres *History*.[49] Furthermore, Pachymeres supports Aristotle's view that for shooting stars, the combination of the natural tendency of the dry exhalation to move downwards and upwards results in an oblique motion (πλάγιον), and reproduces the example of the kernels when squeezed out from one's fingers (ὥσπερ οἱ ἐκ τῶν δακτύλων πυρῆνες). But at this point, the Byzantine scholar adds a further clarification to the Aristotelian example by providing an interesting parenthetical detail: "namely the olive-seeds" (δηλονότι τὰ ἐλαιόκοκκα). The word ἐλαιόκοκκα – probably borrowed from the spoken vernacular of his time – deviates significantly from the high style academic learned language of the whole text and its use is difficult to explain.[50] If we exclude the possibility of a humorous temper in the use of this rare Byzantine word by Pachymeres, then we have to admit his disposition to explain the classicizing technical term of the Aristotelian authority with a "modern" vernacular word in order to assist the comprehension of the phenomenon under discussion by his intended audience.

To Pachymeres' own authorial style belongs the repetition of expressions (διὰ τὸ εὐφυὲς τῆς ἀναθυμιάσεως πρὸς τὴν ἄναψιν; διὰ τὴν εὐφυίαν πρὸς ἄναψιν – πλειστάκις εἰς τὰ πλάγια φέρεται; καὶ ἔστι τοῦτο τὸ πλάγιον). These repetitions help the reader follow Pachymeres' own explanations and facilitate the comprehension of the topic under discussion. The

[47] The word is found only twice in the ancient literature (cf. LSJ s.v.), and twice more in Byzantine hagiographical texts (cf. LBG s.v.).

[48] Pachym. *Hist*. II 567,18: μᾶλλον ἦν πρὸς τὴν τῶν ὑπονοουμένων ἄναψιν πλεῖστον ὅσον ἐμπύρευμα; *Hist*. II 599,3: ξύλοις ἑτοίμοις εἰς ἄναψιν ἐπηρείδετο; *Declam*. 9.85: καὶ ἐκ σπινθῆρος ἀνάψεις πῦρ γνώσεως.

[49] TLG search results for the word δόκησις are numerous. Pachymeres applied it in: Pachym. *Hist*. II 377,5: δόκησίν τε καὶ ἡμᾶς κατακλυσθῆναι παρέσχε; III 40,10: πέμπων ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῦ τὰ κατ' αὐτοὺς ἐν φροντίσι μεγάλαις ἔχειν παρεῖχε δόκησιν.

[50] The type ἐλαιόκοκκα is seldom and appears only once in a 9th c. Byzantine text (Theod. Stud., *Cat.M.* 36: οὕτω τὰ σύνθετα, τὰ ἐλαιόκοκκα, τὰ κάρυα, τὰ λάχανα, τὰ κοχλιάρια, τὰ βαυκάλια); cf. LBG 179.

phrase καὶ διαταῦτα[51] is a formulaic expression that introduces a conclusion; it is extensively used also in Pachymeres' *History*.[52]

### 3.2. Further Linguistic and Stylistic Choices

The cases of own authorial style in *Philosophia, In Mete.* 1 imply some linguistic and stylistic choices within the context of Pachymeres' paraphrase. There are several passages in sections 2 and 3 of the work (τίτλος β′ and γ′) that show Pachymeres' constant interest throughout the whole treatise to reproduce, paraphrase or comment on the Aristotelian authority with a focus on the causes of the phenomena under discussion. In the following section, I present further linguistic and stylistic choices derived from the whole work that verify, in my opinion, its educational character.

#### 3.2.1. The Matter of Vocabulary

The classical Attic language, which constructs the lingual background of the Aristotelian source-text, is sometimes enriched in Pachymeres' paraphrase with dialectical forms. This attitude can be combined with a selection of words found in the historical and rhetorical texts of the author. Instances:

- αἰθρηγενέτης (*In Mete.* p. 23,11): The word is contextualized in a direct quotation of Homer (Odys. ε 296): "καὶ βορέης αἰθρηγενέτης μέγα κῦμα κυλίνδων"; the same quotation is also found in *Declamationes*.[53]
- ἐλάττων / ἐλάσσων: The Attic-Beotian dialectical form with double ττ, found several times in the text, is once replaced with the type ἐλάσσων (*In Mete.* p. 57,6).
- ἐπικάον (*In Mete.* p. 39,5): Attic form of the verb ἐπικάω (ἐπικαίω); this form is also found once in Pachymeres' *History*.[54]
- ἐς [τοσοῦτον] (*In Mete.* p. 7,22–23): Ionic and earlier Attic form of the preposition εἰς. The use of this type is a commonplace in Pachymeres' *History*.
- θάλαττα / θάλασσα: Though Pachymeres follows the Attic-Beotian form with double ττ (*In Mete.* pp. 25,15; 26,1; 26,20; 32,21;

[51] This expression is also found in Pachym. *In Mete.* pp. 16,25; 25,5; 30,6–7; 48,14.

[52] Pachym. *Hist.* I 15,31; 29,4; 49.21; 295,18; II 453,1.

[53] Pachym. *Declam*. 8.135–136: σὺν δ' Εὖρός τε Νότος τε συμβάλλουσιν ἐν ταὐτῷ, καὶ Βορέης αἰθρηγενέτης μέγα κῦμα κυλίνδων.

[54] Pachym. *Hist*. III 271,20: ἐπικάοντος.

35,6; 48,2) in accordance with the Aristotelian text, he also makes parallel extensive use of the Ionic form θάλασσα several times.[55] The same situation is observed also in the *History, Declamationes* and *Progymnasmata*.[56]

- κωλύμη (*In Mete.* p. 22,12): A term for "impediment", common also in Thucydides. The word is used in Pachymeres' *History* as well.[57]
- μαλάττω / μαλάσσω: Though Pachymeres follows the Attic-Beotian form μαλάττω in accordance with the Aristotelian text (*In Mete.* pp. 65,7; 65,8–9), he mentions once the form μαλασσόμενον (*In Mete.* p. 69,12). Mixed use of both forms of this verb can be also observed in Pachymeres' *History* and *Declamationes*.[58]
- ξυμπίπτω (*In Mete.* p. 41,5 & 16): Earlier Attic form of the preposition συν- as prefix; this is a commonplace in Pachymeres' *History*.

On the other hand, we observe that the classical Attic vocabulary of the Aristotelian source-text is supplemented, or sometimes replaced, by words that deviate towards a vocabulary of the Byzantine "usual" prose. Moreover, there are cases where Pachymeres does not hesitate to produce his own technical terms in order to convey the meaning to his audience, probably having considered its linguistic abilities. Instances:

- ἀπεναντίας (*In Mete.* p. 48,1) "opposite": This word, mostly found in Byzantine authors, is present also in Pachymeres' *History* and in the *Quadrivium*.[59]
- ἀπομάρανσις (*In Mete.* p. 42,17) "wasting / dying away, disappearance": Rare form, also found in Theophrastus and in a Byzantine Typicon of the 13th c.[60]

[55] Pachym. *In Mete*. pp. 25,7; 25,9; 25,11; 25,12; 26,9; 26,16; 26,17; 26,19; 26,23; 27,3; 27,6; 27,6; 27,7; 28,11; 28,17; 28,18; 28,19; 32,24; 45,7; 66,25. Yet, Pachymeres makes mixed use of both types in one characteristic passage: ὅπου δὲ στενὸν ἐστὶ τῆς θαλάττης, δῆλον γίνεται. ἡ μὲν γὰρ Μαιῶτις εἰς τὸν Πόντον τὸν Εὔξεινον ῥεῖ, οὗτος δὲ εἰς τὸν Αἰγαῖον· καὶ δῆλον γίνεται ἐκ τοῦ Θρᾳκικοῦ Βοσπόρου. ἐν δὲ τῷ ἔξω πελάγει ἧττον ἐπίδηλον ἐστὶ τὸ τοιοῦτον διὰ τὸ πλάτος τῆς θαλάσσης (Pachym. *In Mete.* p. 26,19–23).

[56] TLG search results verify the mixed use of both types in Pachymeres' texts.

[57] Pachym. *Hist*. I 191,26; II 509,21; 529,28; IV 609,8.

[58] Μαλάσσω: Pachym. *Hist*. I 115,4; II 401,2; 427,12; 565,21; IV 409,6. Μαλάττω: II 563,22; 577,5; 605,18; III 117,21; 119,7; IV 585,23; *Declam*. 2.148.

[59] Pachym. *Hist*. III 277,20; IV 381,21; *Quadrivium* 3.1.78 (203,16); 3.43.7 (278,20).

[60] Thphr. *Fr.* 5.36.2; Invent. Mon. Boreinae 153.6; cf. LSJ 209, LBG 172.

– ἀποσπινθηρακίζω (*In Mete.* p. 5,16): Discussed above.[61]
– βοασμός (*In Mete.* p. 33,26): Noun from the verb βοάω "to scream, howl". This noun appears also in Michael Glykas, and in Pachymeres' *History*.[62]
– γύρωθεν (*In Mete.* p. 60,4) "in a circle": Alternative form of the adverb γυρόθεν, common in late Byzantine authors, is also present in *Progymnasmata*.[63]
– δυσοριστέω (*In Mete.* p. 69,14: αἴτιον τοῦ δυσοριστεῖν *καὶ συνίστασθαι) "to be difficult to adapt to a limit": The infinitive derives from the adjective δυσόριστος, which is found also in Aristotle. The verbal use of the adjective in this case is a hapax* and appears only in Pachymeres.[64]
– ἐλαιόκοκκα (*In Mete.* p. 7,20): Discussed above.[65]
– ἐντόσθιος (*In Mete.* p. 39,23: ἐντοσθίου ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐξωτερικοῦ πνεύματος): Generally, the word in neutral gender noun (mostly in plural: τὰ ἐντόσθια) has the meaning of "entrails".[66] In Pachymeres, the word is used as an adjective having the meaning of "internal"; its use is rare, mainly in Byzantine ecclesiastical poetry,[67] as well as in Pachymeres' *Translatio Boethii De topicis differentiis*.[68]
– ἕψις (*In Mete.* p. 68,8): In Aristotle we find the term ἕψησις in the sense of "boiling" (originating from the verb ἕψω).[69] Apparently, Pachymeres produces here a technical term to denote "boiling" by using the word ἕψις, which appears once in the late Byzantine literature with different meaning ("following", originating from the verb ἕπομαι).[70]

[61] See above p. 128 n. 37.

[62] Mich. Glyc. *Versus* 62: ὁ βοασμὸς τοῦ κόρακος τοῦ βαρυφωνοτάτου; Pachym. *Hist.* II 457,20: ἀσυνήθεις ψόφοι τὴν γῆν ἐτάρασσον συνεχῶς, οὓς δὴ βοασμοὺς κοινολογῶν εἴποι τις; cf. also LBG 283.

[63] For γυρόθεν, cf. LSJ 364. A TLG search for γύρωθεν resulted in several passages from Digenes Acritas; see also Pachym. *Progymnasmata* 11.580.18: χαλκῷ τὸ πᾶν τοῦ λίθου καλύπτεσθαι γύρωθεν.

[64] Arist. *Mete.* 378b 24, *GC* 329b 32; cf. LSJ 459.

[65] See above p. 132 n. 48.

[66] LSJ 577.

[67] e.g. Theod. Prodr., *Tetr.* 1.14.54 «ἐντόσθιον δὲ πῦρ λεόντων ἀτρόφων»; cf. LBG 522.

[68] Pachym. *Transl. Boethii* 2.3 (233,13): καὶ καλείσθω ἐντόσθιος ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκτὸς τοῦ πράγματος καὶ καλείσθω ἐξωτικὸς ἢ ἐκ τῶν μέσων καὶ μέσος ὀνομαζέσθω; (233;16): ὁ τόπος, ἐντόσθιος μέσος ἐξωτικός.

[69] Arist. *Mete.* 380b 13; cf. LSJ 751.

[70] Cf. LBG 639.

– μεθημέραν (*In Mete.* p. 41,12: καὶ μεθημέραν μὲν ἶρις γίνεται, νύκτωρ δ' ἀπὸ σελήνης): This adverb in the form of connected words appears in several Byzantine authors.[71] The same word is also found in Pachymeres' *History* in a similar context.[72]
– [τῶν] μετεωρικῶν (*In Mete.* p. 3,4): A form mentioned in the title of *Philosophia* book 5 instead of the standard form that appears in the title of the Aristotelian treatise (τῶν μετεωρολογικῶν or τῶν μετεώρων). The form τῶν μετεωρικῶν does not appear in any other meteorological treatise of the late antique and Byzantine Aristotelian tradition. It is probably either a fusion of the forms μετεώρων and μετεωρολογικῶν, or the adjectival product of the noun μετέωρ-ος with the ending -ικος (meaning: "what is related, belongs or refers to the meteors").[73]
– [ἡ] σαρδαράκη (*In Mete.* p. 63,14): In Aristotle and other authors σανδαράκη or σανδαράχη, "a red sulphide of arsenic".[74]

Several technical terms supplement Pachymeres' own vocabulary, mainly in chapter 2.6 "On rainbow" (τίτλος β', κεφάλαιον ς' Περὶ ἴριδος) of *Philosophia* book 5.[75] This chapter contains lengthy original passages authored by Pachymeres and offers two detailed geometrical proofs: (i.) that the rainbow cannot be greater than a semicircle, when the sun is on the horizon (*In Mete.* 2.6.1–6), (ii.) that the rainbow must be less than a semicircle, when the sun is above the horizon (*In Mete.* 2.6.7). Instances:

– διαλευκανθείη (*In Mete.* p. 51,8; 53,7): From the verb διαλευκαίνω, "to elucidate". This verb is found in several Byzantine authors.[76]
– ἐπεντρανίζοιμεν (*In Mete.* p. 48,11): The verb ἐπεντρανίζω ("to look carefully, observe") is found in several late Byzantine au-

[71] A search in TLG resulted provided 30 cases from Byzantine texts. On the phenomenon of word-connection in the late Byzantine texts, cf. Kambylis 1991: 126*–130*, Reinsch and Kambylis 2001: I 35*. On this grammatical phenomenon in Pachymeres' *Philosophia* books 10, 11, 6, 5 and 3, cf. Pappa 2002: 128*-129*; 2008: 103*–104*, Oikonomakos 2005: 42*–43* & 52*, and Telelis 2012: 107*-108*; 2016: 128*.

[72] In Pachymeres' *History* μεθ' ἡμέραν: I 43,3; II 615,17; IV 453,13. Cf. also *Declam.* 4.73, 8.97.

[73] For a discussion on this term, cf. Telelis 2012: 7*-8*.

[74] LSJ 1582.

[75] Pachym. *In Mete.* pp. 44–61.

[76] A TLG search resulted in references to Michael Psellus, Eustathius Thessalonicensis, Manuel Holobolus, Nicephorus Gregoras, Demetrius Chomatenus, etc.; cf. LSJ 401.

thors.[77] Nevertheless, the noun ἐπεντράνισις (*In Mete.* p. 58,5) is rare and has been detected only once.[78]

– ἐπιδίτριτος (*In Mete.* p. 54,4; 54,6) "containing 1 2/3"; ἐπιτέταρτος (*In Mete.* p. 54,3; 54,5) "ratio of 4:3"; ἐπίτριτος (*In Mete.* pp. 54,2 fig. vii; 55,7; 55,9; 56,5; 56,6; 56,9 56,13; 56,15 fig. ix; 57,3; 57,4) "containing 1 1/3":[79] Mathematical terms probably drawn from Nicomachos of Gerasa. These terms are also extensively used by Pachymeres in the *Quadrivium*.[80]
– ἡ ἐπιχειλής (*In Mete.* p. 52,17), τὸ ἐπιχειλές (*In Mete.* p. 59,10): The use of the adjective is common in ancient and Byzantine authors. Nevertheless, the noun ἐπιχειλίς (*In Mete.* pp. 59,13; 60,4; 60,7; 60,9) or the verbal forms of the verb ἐπιχειλοῦμαι (*In Mete.* p. 59,10) appear *hapax* in Pachymeres' paraphrase.[81]

### 3.2.2. The matter of style

There are particular features in *Philosophia* that confirm Pachymeres' intention to produce a well-structured synthesis, helpful for the reader, so that Aristotle's argumentation can be easily understood. As pointed out above,[82] Pachymeres' own authorial style in *Philosophia* book 5 is conveyed by repetition of phrases, use of interrogative expressions, and the use of first-person plural expressions (verb forms and pronouns). Nevertheless, further stylistic observations can be drawn from the study of Pachymeres' original passages in *Philosophia* book 5:

1. There are signs of oral speech in the text. Such signs can be combined with indications of imagined speaking and they are mainly conveyed through the use of the first-person plural verb and pronoun forms, which reflect Pachymeres' intent to give further explanations or make self-references. Examples:

– προσήκουσα τοίνυν ἡμῖν καὶ ἡ περὶ τούτων θεωρία πῶς ἄνεμος γίνεται (*In Mete.* p. 21,7)

[77] A TLG search resulted in references to Michael Glykas, Nicolaos Mesarites, Constantinos Manasses and many others. Cf. also LBG 559.

[78] In Germanos II Patriarch of Constantinople; cf. LBG, 559.

[79] LSJ 631, 665, 668 respectively.

[80] A TLG search resulted in several references from Pachym. *Quadrivium*.

[81] Cf. ἐπιχειλοῦντες in Hesychius, Lexicon (TLG search result).

[82] See above pp. 126-133.

- εἰ δὲ γέγονεν ὁ σύμπας κόσμος καθὼς ἂν ἡμεῖς εἴποιμεν καὶ τὸ ἀληθὲς ἔχοι, ἄρα καὶ αὐτὴ γέγονε (*In Mete.* p. 29,8–9)
- διὸ λέγομεν τὴν δοκοῦσαν αἰτίαν (*In Mete.* p. 36,3–4)
- νῦν δὲ τὴν διαφορὰν λέγομεν αὐτῆς πρὸς τὴν ἅλω (*In Mete.* p. 47,4)
- εἴπερ ἐπεντρανίζοιμεν (*In Mete.* p. 48,11)
- ἡμισφαίριον δὲ τὸ ΗΜΘ περὶ ἡμᾶς (*In Mete.* p. 52,14)
- τοῦ Κ τοῦ ὑποτεθέντος κέντρου τῆς περὶ ἡμᾶς περιφερείας (*In Mete.* p. 52,21)
- δείξωμεν τοίνυν καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ περιφερείᾳ τρίγωνα ταῦτα ὁμόλογα (*In Mete.* p. 54,6–7)
- ἥτις ἔστιν ἡ ἡμῶν ἐπεντράνισις πρὸς ἀέρα (*In Mete.* p. 58,5)
- ἡ ὑπὸ γῆν περιφέρεια, ἥτις ἡμῖν ἀόρατός ἐστιν (*In Mete.* p. 59,2)
- Μεθὸ δὲ τὰς ἐνεργείας εἴπομεν τῶν ποιητικῶν (*In Mete.* p. 69,8)
- ὡς ἐν τῷ Περὶ ψυχῆς μαθησόμεθα (*In Mete.* p. 70,7–8)[83]

2. Pachymeres' text contains several expressions that function as: (i) signs of reference to the Stagirite, (ii) signs of internal or external communication with the same or other books of *Philosophia*:

i. Pachymeres indicates his communication with the Aristotelian meteorological doctrine by using expressions that refer directly to the ancient philosopher, usually with the verb φησί. Examples:

- ...τοῦτο δέ φησιν ὁ φιλόσοφος ψεῦδος (*In Mete.* p. 9,19–20)
- ...τοῦτο δέ φησιν ὁ φιλόσοφος, ἔδει ἀεὶ γίνεσθαι ἐπὶ τοῖς κομήταις (*In Mete.* 10,10–11)
- ἡμεῖς δέ φησι φαμέν, ἐξ ὑποκειμένης ἀναθυμιάσεως γίνεσθαι τοὺς κομήτας. (*In Mete.* p. 10,12)
- ...φαίνεται δὲ τοῦτο ἀδύνατον φησὶν ὁ φιλόσοφος (*In Mete.* p. 12,7–8)
- ...ἀδύνατον δὲ καὶ τοῦτο φησὶν ὁ φιλόσοφος (*In Mete.* p. 12,19–20)
- ἡμεῖς δέ φησι λέγομεν, ὅτι εἴρηται ὡς τὸ ὕστερον τοῦ ἀέρος δύναμιν ἔχει πυρός (*In Mete.* p. 13,14)
- τὸ γοῦν πηγὰς εἶναι θαλάσσης ὁ φιλόσοφος ἀπολέγει (*In Mete.* p. 26,9)
- περὶ δὲ τῆς γενέσεως αὐτῆς, εἰ γέγονε, φησὶν ὁ φιλόσοφος, καὶ τῆς ἁλμυρότητος, λεκτέον (*In Mete.* p. 27,15)

[83] "As we shall learn in the *De anima* treatise". The use of the verb μαθησόμεθα in this passage is quite indicative of the educational character of the text; the expression is a self-reference.

- τὰ δὲ περὶ τῆς γενέσεως αὐτῆς, φησιν ὁ φιλόσοφος, ἀναλόγως ἔχει τῷ σύμπαντι κόσμῳ (*In Mete.* p. 29,7)
- ...τὸ δὲ νομίζειν φησὶν ἐλάττω τὲ γίνεσθαι τὸ πλῆθος (*In Mete.* p. 29,9–10)
- ...ἔδει δέ φησιν ὁ φιλόσοφος τούτου συμβαίνοντος ὑπονοστοῦσαν πολλαχῆ φαίνεσθαι τὴν γῆν (*In Mete.* p. 31,5–6)
- ...διόπερ ἐν ἔτεσιν ὑπὲρ τὰ πεντήκοντα, φησὶν ὁ φιλόσοφος, δὶς ἐνετύχομεν μόνον (*In Mete.* p. 41,19)
- ...οὕτω γὰρ διώρισε καὶ ὁ φιλόσοφος (*In Mete.* p. 64,14)

ii. Occasional self-references to passages of the same or other books of *Philosophia* indicate Pachymeres' conscious attempt to transform the individual books of *Philosophia* into a comprehensive whole. There are cases of self-referential formulaic expressions, the use of which can also be identified in the *Quadrivium* or in the *History*. Examples:

- αἱ γὰρ αἰσθήσεις πᾶσαι ἐν μεσότητι ὡς ἐν τῷ περὶ ψυχῆς μαθησόμεθα (*In Mete.* p. 70,7–8): Reference to *Philosophia* book 7 (Commentary *In de anima*). The expression "ὡς μαθησόμεθα" is also found several times in the *Quadrivium*.[84]
- καθὼς ἂν ἡμεῖς εἴποιμεν (*In Mete.* p. 29,8–9): Reference to *Philosophia* book 3 (Commentary *In de caelo*).[85]
- περὶ τὰς βροντὰς καὶ τὰς ἀστραπάς, περὶ ὧν αὐτίκα ῥηθήσεται (*In Mete.* p. 33,18–19): Reference to a passage further below in the same text.[86]
- καθὼς ἐν τῷ περὶ οὐρανοῦ ἐλέγομεν (*In Mete.* p. 49,6): Reference to *Philosophia* book 3 (Commentary *In de caelo*). The expression ὡς / καθὼς ἐλέγομεν is used frequently also in other works of Pachymeres.[87]
- Μεθὸ δὲ τὰς ἐνεργείας εἴπομεν τῶν ποιητικῶν, ῥητέον καὶ τὰ εἴδη τῶν παθητικῶν (*In Mete.* p. 69,8): Reference to an earlier passage of the same text.

[84] Cf. Pachym. *Quadrivium* 1.7.4 (14,27), 1.12.17 (23,21), 1.24.3 (43,28), 2.1.20 (98,7), 2.1.33 (98,20), 2.1.73 (99,22), 2.3.34 (104,1), 2.3.45 (104,11), 2.15.88 (137,21).

[85] See Pachym. *In Cael.* 1.1.2 (5,4–11).

[86] Cf. also Pachym. *Hist.* I 127,2.

[87] See Pachym. *In Cael.* 1.2.3–5 (11,7–14,3); cf. Pachym. *Hist.* IV 705,14; *Quadrivium* 1.18.27 (34,33), 2.19.20 (150,34), 3.21.52 (248,33), 4.23.204 (437,17); *In Pl. Prm.* 9,14; 54,16.

3. There are phrases that introduce a new topic or close a finished discussion. Examples:

- ἤδη δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν γινομένων ἐκ τῆς ἀτμιδώδους ἀναθυμιάσεως λεκτέον. (*In Mete.* p. 15,11–12)[88]
- ...νῦν δὲ τὴν διαφορὰν λέγομεν αὐτῆς πρὸς τὴν ἅλω. (*In Mete.* p. 47,4)
- δείξωμεν τοίνυν καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ περιφερείᾳ τρίγωνα ταῦτα ὁμόλογα (*In Mete.* p. 54,6–7)
- μεθὸ δὲ τὰς ἐνεργείας εἴπομεν τῶν ποιητικῶν, ῥητέον καὶ τὰ εἴδη τῶν παθητικῶν (*In Mete.* p. 69,8–9)
- λέγεται δὲ καὶ ταῦτα περὶ τῶν ποταμῶν (*In Mete.* p. 25,6)
- ἀκόλουθον εἰπεῖν καὶ περὶ σεισμῶν, ὅπως γίνονται καὶ πῶς ἡ γῆ κινεῖται(*In Mete.* p. 30,3–4)[89]
- περὶ δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν χρωμάτων τῆς ἴριδος ὕστερον ἐροῦμεν· νῦν δὲ τὴν διαφορὰν λέγομεν αὐτῆς πρὸς τὴν ἅλω (*In Mete.* p. 47,4)
- εἰ δέ τις ἀποροίη... ἔστι μὲν εἰπεῖν (*In Mete.* p. 27,9–10)
- καὶ ταῦτα μὲν περὶ τῶν ποιοτήτων καθολικῶς καὶ τῶν πρώτων ποιητικῶν τε καὶ τῶν παθητικῶν (*In Mete.* p. 75,19).[90]

## 4. Discussion and Concluding Remarks

Determining the socio-cultural status of both the writer and the intended audience of a Byzantine literary work from text's language and style has recently become a hot scholarly research topic for Byzantinists.[91] This task is definitely intriguing – though tricky, because the danger of misinterpreting literary expressions or the usage of classical material, especially while studying Byzantine philosophical texts, may guide modern scholars in drawing conclusions, sometimes away from the reality under research. The application of sociolinguistics in analysis and inter-

[88] The phrase ἤδη λεκτέον imitates Aristotle's original text; cf. Arist. *Mete.* 365a.14: περὶ δὲ σεισμοῦ καὶ κινήσεως γῆς μετὰ ταῦτα λεκτέον.

[89] The expression ἀκόλουθον εἰπεῖν/λέγειν is also quite common in the *Quadrivium*; cf. Pachym. *Quadrivium* 4.6.1 (359,6), 4.6.39 (360,17), 4.10.38 (370,31).

[90] With this sentence finishes *Philsophia* book 5. The expression καὶ ταῦτα μὲν is also used by Pachymeres in a similar context in *History* and in the *Quadrivium*; cf. *Hist.* I 71,5; 125,14; 161,27; 221,4; *Quadrivium* 3.29.1 (259,13), 4.15.216 (396,21), 4.17.1 (402,25).

[91] E.g. Agapitos 2008: 82.

pretation of Byzantine texts has recently emerged as a significant aid towards the achievement of this goal. It was among the intentions of this article to highlight features in Georgios Pachymeres' *Philosophia* book 5 that could support possible hypotheses regarding the target audience of the text on the basis of variations in language and style of passages attributed to Pachymeres himself. What motivated this study was the need for a thorough and systematic description, analysis and interpretation of Pachymeres' creativity in a paraphrase that strongly depends on the Aristotelian authority.

Based on the textual material presented in this article, we may conjecture on the socio-cultural status of Pachymeres' *Philosophia* book 5 intended audience. If in the case of Pachymeres' *History* we are before "a writer whose complexity and turgidity of style could easily unnerve the reader", as Herbert Hunger has underlined,[92] in the case of *Philosophia* – specifically as it regards book 5, τῶν μετεωρικῶν – we encounter a paraphrast who writes Byzantine high style philosophical prose, having in mind to transfer Aristotle's main ideas as comprehensively as possible through the use of explanation and example. Considering that the main feature of Byzantine writing was to comment on and clarify classical authors' texts and to prepare study and research aids,[93] there is no doubt that Pachymeres' main concern in *Philosophia* was to compose a synthesis that would diminish the obscurity of the Stagirite. Given that Pachymeres' philosophical and scientific writings are regarded as strictly connected to his teaching activity, *Philosophia* should by no means be examined out of the highly educated literary *milieu* of the Palaeologan period.[94] On the other hand, as argued in this article, there are indications in *Philosophia* book 5 that imply Pachymeres' concern to clarify and explain the arguments of Aristotle in an attempt to make his synthesis as accessible as possible to his audience, probably because the audience had difficulty in accessing the original text of Aristotle directly and comprehending his ideas with ease. In this context, we may suppose that this treatise was meant to serve specific educational goals, namely to introduce certain apprentices to Aristotelian meteorology (e.g. the interpretation of the phenomena of the sublunary realm as results of the action of the two exhalations). The parallel use of a vocabulary that fol-

[92] Hunger 1978: 449: "Der schwierige und geschraubte Stil des Pachymeres trägt ein übriges zur Verärgerung bei".

[93] Cf. Kukjalko 2013.

[94] Pachym. *Quadrivium*, preface by V. Laurent: XXVIII–IX; cf. also Constantinides (1982: 113–132), Mergiali 1996: esp. 33, Golitsis 2008a.

lows very close Aristotle's Attic philosophical prose together with words and phrases that deviate towards a less "uncompromisingly classicizing"[95] style (with characteristics such as those discussed in this article), permits – in my opinion – the hypothesis that the work might be intended for highly educated young readers (possibly the students of philosophy of the Patriarchal School), rather than Pachymeres' colleagues and scholars.

In his epitaph verses devoted to Geogrios Pachymeres, Manuel Philes laments that the death of his teacher will make Aristotle close his books and hide in silence. Nevertheless, the transformation of the Aristotelian philosophical prose into texts – as discussed in the case of *Philosophia* book 5 – that convey the Stagirite's thought in a concise, clear, and eventually, simple and understandable way, definitely justifies the praise of Manuel Philes that his master was a "skilful teacher" (τεχνικὸς διδάσκαλος).

[95] Browning 1978: 124.

Divna Manolova

# The Student Becomes the Teacher: Nikephoros Gregoras' *Hortatory Letter Concerning Astronomy**

When Andrea Cuomo invited me to participate in the workshop *Approaches to Late Byzantine Historiography: Between Philology and Sociolinguistics* (Vienna 2013), he asked me to discuss the production of scientific literature during the Palaiologan period and its influence on contemporary history-writing through the methodological lenses of historical sociolinguistics. While the rise to prominence of the mathematical sciences in Byzantium during the Palaiologan period is well-known, scholars of Byzantine science remain only a few. Nevertheless, thanks to the efforts of Tihon, Mogenet, Neugebauer, and Pingree, among others, the revival of Ptolemaic astronomy and the incorporation of Persian, Latin, and Jewish astronomical knowledge by the late Byzantine scholars have become familiar to those interested in medieval science and in the intellectual achievements of the Palaiologan *pepaideumenoi* (Tihon 1987a; Tihon 2009; Tihon 2015; Pingree 1964; Pingree 1976; Pingree 1998; Neugebauer 1960; Neugebauer 1962). Having in mind that the attention of sociolinguistics is chiefly directed towards the detection and analysis of correlated linguistic variations and social changes, in approaching the task I focused my inquiry on the possible mutual influences between the significant alterations in the intellectual climate of the early Palaiologan era. The latter are exemplified, on the one hand, by the prominence of mathematical astronomy and the high stakes of the successful demonstration of related expertise, and on the other, by the sociolect of the Constantinopolitan educated elite and, by extension, its discourse concerning knowledge of the natural world, nature,

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and even divine providence, as well as the related book production and circulation. Given the focus both on history-writing and on astronomy, a particularly illustrative example in this regard is Nikephoros Gregoras' (*c.* summer 1293/June 1294–1358/1361)[1] *Roman History*.

The *Historia Rhōmaïkē* was written and circulated in Constantinople in several installments since the 1340s and is preserved today in more than forty manuscripts. Gregoras' work covers the history of Byzantium from 1204 until around the time of his death (*c.* 1359) and consists of thirty-seven books (Schopen and Bekker (eds) 1829–1855). In the *History*, Gregoras lists and discusses numerous astronomical events, such as solar and lunar eclipses (e.g., *HR*, *Book* IV, 8; *Book* IX, 12, 14; *Book* XI, 3), the observation of comets (e.g., *HR*, *Book* XI, 5, 7), or the configuration of the stars at a given moment in time (e.g., *HR*, *Book* XI, 11). *Book* VIII, in particular, offers important examples of incorporation of astronomy-related material into the historiographical narrative as it comprises Gregoras' *Hortatory Letter Concerning Astronomy* (*HR*, Book VIII, 7)[2] and his discourse on the date of Easter (*HR*, *Book* VIII, 13).[3] Thus, the present essay features a case study of the *Hortatory Letter* and analyses its insertion in Gregoras' *History* in light of his personal, social, and political circumstances in the early 1330s, namely his rare expertise in mathematical astronomy and his role in the preservation of his mentor's astronomical œuvre after the latter's political downfall and after his death.

The *Hortatory Letter* was addressed to Gregoras' mentor the *megas logothetes* Theodore Metochites (1270–1332)[4] and its interpolation in the *Roman History* postdates the latter's political demise (1328) and perhaps even his death (1332). Though Gregoras did not provide evidence

[1] *PLP* 4443. For arguments concerning the dates of Gregoras' life, see Beyer 1978; Grecu 1946. For a comprehensive, though outdated, account of Gregoras' life, see Guilland 1926. One of the most useful biographical accounts, however, a catalogue, and a concise description of Gregoras' works are found in van Dieten 1973: 1–62. For an updated bibliography on Gregoras, see Dunaev 2004.

[2] Schopen 1829: 322, line 19–327, line 5. The *Hortatory Letter* remains unpublished as an epistolary text. On the modern editorial strategies, through which Gregoras' letter-collection was approached, see Manolova 2015.

[3] Schopen 1829: 364, line 13–372, line 18. The discourse on the calculation of the date of Easter was edited by Bezdechi as *Letter* XX addressed to Demetrios Kabasilas. Bezdechi 1924: 330–336. For an analysis and a comparison with Barlaam the Calabrian's computistic work, see Tihon 2011 and Cuomo 2013. For a German translation, see van Dieten 1979a: 67–72; on the addressee of the letter, see van Dieten 1979a: 175–176, note 141; Ševčenko 1964: 444–445.

[4] *PLP* 17982.

as to when he started writing his *History*, van Dieten argued that the text of the first eleven books was already complete by 1344, while their circulation probably took place at some point in 1347 (van Dieten 1979a: 16). The dating of the *Hortatory Letter*'s initial composition is unknown. Based on its topic, namely Gregoras' appeal to Metochites for instruction in astronomy, however, we may assume that it was initially written in the early 1320s. Importantly, during a revision of the codex probably dating to the 1330s, an autograph copy of the letter was inserted as a prefatory piece in the astronomical miscellany *Vat. gr.* 1087, thus providing a *terminus ante quem* for the composition of the text (Menchelli 2013: 33–34).[5] Irrespectively of the latter's dating, both employments of the *Hortatory Letter*, that is, as an interpolated discourse in the *History* and as a preface to the Vatican codex, date to the years around Metochites' political downfall and his death and, by extension, to a period of significant changes in Gregoras' circumstances. Notably, the *Hortatory Letter*, as one finds it in the *Vat. gr.* 1087, relates to three important preoccupations of Gregoras at the time, namely, his activity as a scribe, compiler, annotator and "editor" of astronomical books, his teaching activity and, finally, the preservation of Metochites' scholarship.

Gregoras began studying Ptolemy (fl. mid-second century CE) during the 1320s under Metochites' tutelage and at some point between 1322 and 1325, but most probably in 1324, he proposed to Andronikos II a calendar reform related to the calculation of the date of Easter (Mogenet and Tihon (eds) 1977: 151).[6] During the same period, Gregoras started forming a scholarly circle at the monastery of Chora where he taught the disciplines of the *quadrivium* (Leone 1982: 299–300, *Letter* 114, lines 55–63; Leone 1982: 182, *Letter* 60, lines 60–61; see also Bianconi in the present volume), while establishing his network and gaining prestige at court. After 1324 and before 1328, Gregoras had already composed the first redaction of his treatise on the construction of the astrolabe (Ševčenko 1964; Mogenet and Tihon (eds) 1977: 151). Moreover, the *megas logothetes* Metochites bequeathed his personal library to the Chora monastery and publicly appointed Gregoras as its "defender and

[5] The *Vaticanus* was copied in the late 1320s or early 1330s. The dating indicated by the watermarks refers to the period between 1320 and 1326 (Pontani 2013: 10). Gregoras' autograph of the *On the Construction of the Astrolabe* preserved in the *Vaticanus* dates to *c.* 1335 (Menchelli 2013: 17). For dating and comprehensive codicological description of the *Vaticanus*, see Menchelli 2013.

[6] Recently Tihon has expressed certain doubts concerning the dating of the treatise (Tihon 2011: 402).

protector" (Ševčenko and Featherstone (eds) 1981: 28, *Poem* 4, lines 1–3; cf. Schopen 1829: 309, lines 6–11). In 1328, following the abdication of Andronikos II, as his supporter in the civil war of 1321–1328, Gregoras had his possessions confiscated. He was, nevertheless, allowed to remain in the capital and in the late 1320s and early 1330s started seeking new patrons, such as the *megas domestikos* John Kantakouzenos, the future emperor John VI,[7] to whom he probably dedicated his commentary on Synesios' *On Dreams* at some point between 1330 and 1332 (Ševčenko 1964: 435–442).[8] Later in the 1330s, Gregoras succeeded in establishing himself as the leading philosopher and astronomer at the court of Andronikos III (r. 1328–1341),[9] Andronikos II's grandson. At some point between 1332 and 1335, Gregoras published the second redaction of his work on the construction of the astrolabe. Importantly, in the 1330s Gregoras also composed and circulated his Platonizing dialogue *Phlorentios, or, On Wisdom* (*c.* 1337). Together with Gregoras' correspondence, this dialogue represents a major witness for the debate over astronomical and philosophical issues between him and Barlaam the Calabrian (*c.* 1290–1348).[10] Finally, during the 1330s, Gregoras also emended and commented on Ptolemy's *Harmonics*.

As noted by Tihon, at the beginning of the fourteenth century an unusually high number of solar eclipses were observable from Constantinople. Though Gregoras was by no means the only one capable of calculating them, Tihon observed that seemingly, "he was responsible for making this sort of exercise fashionable" (Tihon 2006: 283). Further, Tihon stated that by the late 1340s the "interest in an observable phenomenon and its prediction had disappeared" and it was revived again in particular during the period of 1374–1390 (Tihon 2006: 288; Tihon 1987b: 353). Indeed, during Gregoras' residence in Constantinople sixteen or seventeen solar eclipses, all of them partial, occurred and could be observed to a different degree.[11] Depending on the dating of his ar-

[7] *PLP* 10973.

[8] Importantly, Bydén recently revisited Ševčenko's identification of the original dedicatee of Gregoras' commentary as John Kantakouzenos and, consequently, proposed an earlier date for the composition of the commentary, namely before May 1328. I am grateful to the author for this reference. For Bydén's arguments in favour of an earlier dating, see Bydén 2014: 161–186.

[9] *PLP* 21437.

[10] *PLP* 2284.

[11] At least four of them were barely visible according to their magnitude, namely between 0.029 (14 May 1352) and 0.297 (30 November 1350). All data concerning the dating and magnitude of solar and lunar eclipses I discuss in the present chapter is de-

rival in the capital (*c.* 1314/1315), the first solar eclipse occurring in the time frame in question was either the eclipse of 4 May 1315 (magnitude 0.369) or of 6 September 1317 (magnitude 0.373). It seems, however, that Gregoras' astronomical studies intensified only in the 1320s and the earliest evidence of his preoccupation with astronomy is his treatise on the calculation of the date of Easter and his proposal for a calendar reform dated to 1324 (Tihon 2011: 393–402). Thus, one can allow for the possibility that Gregoras' astronomical competence until *c.* 1324 was insufficient for the calculation of the eclipses which occurred in 1317, 1321, and 1322. He could have both observed and calculated the eclipse of 24 April 1324 (magnitude 0.567). Gregoras' correspondence provides evidence, however, for his preoccupation with only four solar eclipses, which occurred consecutively during the 1330s, namely the eclipses of 16 July 1330 (magnitude 0.997), whose calculation by Gregoras is preserved in *Marc. gr.* 325 (ff. 1$^{r}$–8$^{v}$) (Mogenet, Tihon, Royez and Berg 1983); 30 November 1331 (magnitude 0.593); and those of 14 May 1333 (magnitude 0.918) and 3 March 1337 (magnitude 0.749), both of which were also calculated by Barlaam the Calabrian (Mogenet and Tihon (eds) 1977). After 1337, during Gregoras' lifetime, eight more partial solar eclipses occurred between 1339 and 1354, out of which at least five could have been observed as their magnitudes spanned between 0.429 and 0.949.[12] Only one of them, the partial solar eclipse of 9 December 1341 (magnitude 0.532) is indicated in Gregoras' *Roman History* and moreover, as Tihon pointed out, it was interpreted

rived from NASA's JavaScript Solar Eclipse Explorer for Asia and Asia Minor unless otherwise noted. See http://eclipse.gsfc.nasa.gov/JSEX/JSEX-AS.html [last accessed on 4 August 2016].

[12] It should be pointed out that to a great extent Byzantine astronomy was a theoretical discipline. Astronomical observations and the use of appropriate instruments such as the astrolabe are, nevertheless, attested among the practices of the fourteenth-century scholars (Pingree 1971: 213). Gregoras also made use of the astrolabe. As Ševčenko pointed out, Gregoras inserted a correction in the margin of f. 159$^{v}$ of *Vat. gr.* 165 in which he suggested a different value regarding the spring equinox of 17 March, according to what he had determined with the help of an astrolabe (Ševčenko 1962: 117, note 2). In addition, in Gregoras' Platonizing dialog *Phlorentios* two of the principal interlocutors, Nikagoras and Xenophanes, are involved in an adversarial exchange, in which Nikagoras challenges Xenophanes to determine the current time with the help of an astrolabe (Leone 1975: 87, lines 704–710): φέρε τοίνυν τὸν ὡροσκόπον ἐκεῖνον δεξάμενος στῆθι παρὰ τὴν "ἡλίου ἀκτῖνα" καὶ τὴν ὥραν ἥτις ποτὲ εἴη ἔν γε τῷ παρόντι δίδαξον, ἵνα ὡς ἐξ ὁρμητηρίου τινὸς ἀληθοῦς ἀφικόμενος ἐς τὴν εὕρεσιν τοῦ τε ἡλίου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀστέρων, ὅπῃ τοῦ ζῳδιακοῦ τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες ἕκαστος, ἔχῃς σαφεῖς καὶ ἀναντιρρήτους τὰς ἀποδείξεις ποιεῖσθαι τῶν ἐμπεριειλημμένων ταῖς τούτων κινήσεσι λόγων.

by Gregoras as an indication of misfortunes connected with the civil war (Tihon 2006: 286–287; *HR*, *Book* XII, 15, 3).

Gregoras' *History* mentions a handful of other eclipses, both solar and lunar. For instance, Tihon pointed out that Gregoras interpreted the partial lunar eclipse of 15 February 1337 (umbral magnitude 0.352) as a sign for a Mongol/Tatar invasion in Thrace (in combination with the partial solar eclipse of 3 March 1337) (Tihon 2006: 286; Schopen 1829: 536, lines 4–8, *HR*, *Book* XI, 3, 1; van Dieten 1979b: 376, note 472; Moravcsik 1983: 282). Further, the partial solar eclipse of 30 November 1331 and the partial lunar eclipse of 15 December 1331, according to Gregoras, foreshadowed the death of emperor Andronikos II (12 February 1332) (Tihon 2006: 286; Mavroudi 2007: 70; Mergiali 1996: 70).[13] Finally, Gregoras interpreted two total lunar eclipses in 1342 (21 May and 13 November) as harbingers of other terrible ills (Tihon 2006: 286–287; *HR*, *Book* XII, 15). In addition, in his correspondence with a certain Pepagomenos, Gregoras referred to two partial lunar eclipses which occurred in 1330, on 5 January and 1 July respectively (Leone 1982: 134–139, *Letter* 40).[14]

In sum, the evidence provided by Gregoras' letters and *History* suggests that he was aware of the occurrence of at least six lunar and five solar eclipses. Two of the solar eclipses, namely those of 14 May 1333 and of 3 March 1337, were calculated by Barlaam the Calabrian as well and the eclipse of 16 July 1330 was calculated also by an anonymous author (Tihon 2006: 284). There were, however, several more eclipses observable from Constantinople Gregoras did not preoccupy himself with as far as the evidence allows us to speculate, such as the partial solar eclipse of 7 July 1339 (magnitude 0.949), as well as a number of total lunar eclipses Gregoras could have observed in his lifetime. Surely, meteorological conditions and other factors could have prevented him from observing said eclipses; however, none of the latter explains the lack of mathematical calculations for the celestial phenomena which could have been performed without observation.

[13] Schopen 1829: 460, lines 4–9, *HR*, *Book* IX, 14: Καιρὸς δὲ ἤδη καὶ περὶ τῆς τοῦ γηραιοῦ βασιλέως διεξελθεῖν τελευτῆς, ἣν θεοσημεῖαι πολλαὶ προεμήνυσαν· αἳ ἦσαν τοιαίδε. ἐπισκότησις πρῶτον ἡλιακὴ, τοσαύτας ἡμέρας προειληφυῖα τὴν αὐτοῦ τελευτὴν, ὅσα καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν ἔτη τὰ πάντα βεβιωκώς. ταύτην τὴν ἡλιακὴν ἐπισκότησιν ἔκλειψις διεδέξατο σεληνιακή·

[14] During Gregoras' residence in Constantinople, depending on it exact chronological timeframe, around seventy-nine eclipses occurred; twenty-one of them were total.

The high number of solar and lunar eclipses observable from Constantinople during the fourteenth century coincided with the completion of Gregoras' astronomical studies and thus, provided an opportunity for him to showcase his mathematical expertise. In addition, as Bianconi noted, after Metochites' death in 1332, Gregoras seems to have been the only person in Constantinople competent in all disciplines of the *quadrivium* (Bianconi 2010a: 506). In his own words, Gregoras claimed that as the only one, who could preserve and perpetuate the knowledge of the mathematical sciences, he was compelled to start providing related instruction:

> The frequent exhortations and entreaties of many became my incentive for this undertaking, since, among other rightful reasons, they proposed also that the past took away absolutely everyone and it did not leave at all among us anyone of the Hellenes, who would present to people's ears philosophy's most significant part, namely, the four mathematical sciences, and <who> would fill <their> craving souls full; and that thence, there is a rather imminent danger that <our> lot suffers a loss of what is the most beautiful of all things earth provides, namely the contemplation of the sun. For this reason, I opened a school and surrendered myself to toils and troubles [...] [15]

It is in the context of Gregoras' pedagogical activity that Menchelli interpreted the scholarly project of *Vat. gr.* 1087. According to her codicological analysis, *Vat. gr.* 1087 is a miscellany intended towards the conservation of the astronomical knowledge of Chora from Metochites to Gregoras. Conceived initially as an edition of Metochites' astronomical works, the *Vaticanus* was soon equipped with the iconographical apparatus whose purpose was to facilitate the study of Metochites' works (Menchelli 2013: 49), with Eratosthenes' *Catasterismi* and subsequently, with Gregoras' *On the Construction of the Astrolabe* (Menchelli 2013: 33–34). From the fact that the *Catasterismi* and the accompanying illustrations of the constellations are integral to the composition of the codex, Pontani concluded also that Gregoras aimed at

[15] Leone 1982: 299–300, *Letter* 114, lines 55–63: Ἐφόδια δέ μοι πρὸς τοῦργον αἱ συχναὶ τῶν πολλῶν συνωθήσεις καὶ ἱκεσίαι γεγένηνται τά τε ἄλλα προτείνουσαι δίκαια καὶ ὅτι καθάπαξ πάντας ὁ χρόνος φθάσας παρείλετο καὶ οὐδαμῇ γε οὐδένα τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς ἀφῆκεν Ἑλλήνων, ὃς τὸ κυριώτατον τῆς φιλοσοφίας, τὴν τῶν μαθημάτων δηλαδὴ τετρακτύν, ἀκοαῖς ἀνθρώπων παράσχοι καὶ ψυχὰς πεινώσας ἐμπλήσειε, καὶ κίνδυνον ἐντεῦθεν μάλα πρόχειρον εἶναι ζημιοῦσθαι τὸ γένος, χρῆμα πάντων χρημάτων, ὁπόσα γῆ παρέσχεν ἡλίῳ θεᾶσθαι τὸ κάλλιστον. διά τοι τοῦτο καὶ διδασκαλεῖον αὐτὸς ἀνέῳξα καὶ κόποις ἐκδέδωκα ἐμαυτόν [...]

combining the advanced mathematics of Metochites with simpler and more approachable educational devices such as the iconographical apparatus (Pontani 2013: 14). Notably, Menchelli also suggested that Gregoras' *On the Construction of the Astrolabe* was undoubtedly employed for teaching purposes at Chora (Menchelli 2013: 42). According to the doctoral research conducted by Jarry, however, though Gregoras' treatise demonstrates his mastery of Euclidean geometry, it also reveals his shortcomings in the field of three-dimensional geometry. Moreover, due to its lack of clarity and a number of omissions, Jarry argued, Gregoras' treatise on the astrolabe could not be in fact used as a manual for the construction of the instrument (Jarry 2011).[16] If Jarry is correct, the pedagogical value of the treatise would be restricted to its demonstration of expertise in mathematics rather than in applied astronomy.

The shortcomings of Gregoras' work as preserved in the *Vaticanus*, however, do not annul the instructional value of the miscellany altogether. *Vat. gr.* 1087 contains exclusively scientific works such as Theodore Metochites' *Elements of Astronomy* (completed *c.* 1316) (Bydén 2003) and his commentary to Ptolemy's *Almagest*, as well as excerpts of Eratosthenes' *Catasterismi* accompanied by illustrations of the constellations. Though included accidentally (Mondrain 2002: 322; Menchelli 2013: 23–24), the codex comprises also Theon of Alexandria's *Commentary to Ptolemy's* Almagest (*Books* VIII–XIII), one of the fundamental works for the study of Ptolemaic astronomy in Byzantium, thus suggesting that the codex was perceived as depository of astronomical knowledge and tools. Finally, the main body of texts, namely the Metochitean corpus and the accompanying iconographical apparatus, is framed by Gregoras' *Hortatory Letter in Praise of Astronomy* (f. 1r-v) and his *On the Construction of the Astrolabe* (ff. 312v–320v), both executed in his own hand. In addition, Gregoras copied parts of the text, inserted titles and superscriptions and wrote marginalia. Thus, the presence of Gregoras' hand in the manuscript and the content of the marginal notes indicate his role in conceiving the entire codex and in acting as its "editor" (Pontani 2013: 12; Menchelli 2013: 34; Bianconi 2004: 417).

Gregoras' astronomical activity, as well as the literary and book production stemming out of it, such as the *Vat. gr.* 1087 and the *Hortatory Letter Concerning Astronomy* or the *On the Construction of the Astrolabe*, form an intrinsic part of one out of two trends characteristic

[16] I am grateful to the author for sharing with me some of his observations before the publication of his research. For Jarry's edition of John Philoponus' treatise on the astrolabe resulting from his doctoral dissertation, see Jarry 2015.

for the development of astronomical studies during the Palaiologan period. On the one hand, Ptolemaic astronomy was consciously reintroduced in practice and publicized by several generations of scholars, most of them connected to the Chora monastery in Constantinople. The main driving force behind this enterprise was Theodore Metochites, though his work was already prepared by the efforts of Manuel Bryennios (fl. *c.* 1300),[17] Maximos Planoudes (*c.* 1255–*c.* 1305)[18] and George Pachymeres (1242–*c.* 1310).[19] Gregoras continued Metochites' efforts and subsequently handed over the task to his own students, notably to Isaac Argyros (d. *c.* 1375).[20] On the other hand, an alternative trend in the study and practice of astronomy emerged under the influence of Islamic astronomical works coming mainly from Tabriz and introduced to Byzantium by Gregory Chioniades (d. *c.* 1320) and later on popularized by scholars such as George Chrysokokkes (fl. *c.* 1335–1350), Theodore Meliteniotes (d. 1393) and John Abramios (fl. 1370–1390) (Magdalino 2002). Moreover, through the court of Hugh IV of Lusignan (r. 1324–1359) those who maintained connection with Cyprus, like Gregoras, had access to Latin astronomical treatises as well (Pingree 1976). The revival of Ptolemaic astronomy in Palaiologan Byzantium closely followed the translation of Ptolemy's *Almagest* into Latin, first from Greek in 1160 and then, from Arabic by Gerard of Cremona around 1175. Thus, the Ptolemaic planetary system of eccentrics and epicycles came to the fore of Latin astronomy only in the thirteenth century (Ilnitchi 2002), that is, less than a century before it was revisited in Byzantium. Finally, one also ought to bear in mind that the increased interest in Ptolemaic astronomy during the Palaiologan period happened simultaneously with the rediscovery of Ptolemy's *Geography* by Maximos Planoudes in the end of the thirteenth century (Dilke 1987; Burri 2013; Bianconi, p. 57ff. above).

Thus, the composition and inclusion of Gregoras' *Hortatory Letter* in the Vatican astronomical miscellany and in the *Roman History* exemplifies the interplay between, first, the increased occurrence of significant astronomical phenomena such as the lunar and especially the solar eclipses observable in Constantinople; second, the exceptional and rare mathematical expertise Gregoras acquired and demonstrated, for

[17] *PLP* 3260.

[18] *PLP* 23308.

[19] *PLP* 22186.

[20] *PLP* 1285.

instance, by calculating the luminaries' occultations; third, the change in his social and intellectual status from student of astronomy to one of the very few masters of the *quadrivium* in the capital; and finally, his newly acquired role as Metochites' intellectual heir and the one responsible for the preservation of the latter's scholarly legacy, especially in the context of the revival of Ptolemaic astronomy.

Notably, as Menchelli has also argued, the importance of astronomy and its preservation were not self-evident priorities during the first half of the fourteenth century in Byzantium (Menchelli 2013: 49, note 70). As Magdalino suggested, both Maximos Planoudes and George Pachymeres felt the need to justify and reestablish the study of the mathematical sciences, while Metochites, in particular, strove to demonstrate the superiority of astronomy within the sciences of the *quadrivium* and with respect to physics, thus possibly motivating the reintroduction, after more than a century of interruption, of the study of astronomy in the higher educational curriculum (Magdalino 2006: 142, 144, 146–147). Similarly, Gregoras was engaged in the promotion of Ptolemaic as opposed to Persian astronomy (Pontani 2013: 11, Tihon 1988: 107; Manolova 2014: 59–129). In fact, one of the arguments with the help of which he encouraged Metochites to share his knowledge in the *Hortatory Letter* points out to the precarious state of wisdom (in this case to be understood as equivalent to astronomy):

> And the wisdom itself used many settlements. For they say that Egypt itself is <its> former home. Then it passed over to the Persians and Chaldeans. Then it ended <up> among the Athenians. From there, finally, it flew away. And like a bird banished from her nest it goes around wandering for a long time up to the present. But in the meantime, it may happen that either it stays hither with us for the future [...], or it goes away, moving quickly through the air.[21]

In Metochites' absence, Gregoras presented himself as the sole practitioner of true science and not surprisingly, many of Gregoras' astronomical and philosophical works (notably, his astronomical letters, *Letters* 28, 40, 53, 83, 103, and 114, his *Antilogia* and his Platonizing dialogues *Philomathes* and *Phlorentios*) transmit his views concerning the knowl-

[21] *Vat. gr.* 1087, f. 1$^{v}$, lines 23–27, my own transcription: ἡ δὲ σοφία καὶ αὐτὴ πολλαῖς ταῖς ἀποικίαις ἐχρήσατο. Αἴγυπτος μ(ὲν) γὰρ αὐτ(ῆς) φασὶν ἡ πρὶν ἑστία. εἶτα πρὸ(ς) Πέρσ(ας) κ(αὶ) Χαλδαίους διέβη. εἶτα παρ' Ἀθηναί(οις) κατέλυσε· κἀκεῖθ(εν) τὸ τελευταῖ(ον) ἀπέπτη. καὶ οἱονεί τις ὄρνις τ(ῆς) καλιᾶς ἐξωσθεῖσα, περίεισι(ν) ἄρτι διὰ μακροῦ πλανωμ(ένη). κινδυνεύει δ' οὖν τέως ἢ παρ' ἡμῖν ἐνταυθοῖ τοῦ λοιποῦ μεῖναι [...], ἢ τελέως οἴχεσθ(αι) δραμοῦσαν δι' αἰθέρος.

edge of the natural world and its acquisition in a polemical guise. A case in point is Gregoras' employment of the mythical story of Ikaros in his commentary on Synesios' *On Dreams*:

> Ikaros also was a human himself: he wanted to study astronomy and the paths of the stars. As he was unable to comprehend easily the demonstrations of the computations, he gave up in the midst of <his> education; and for this reason the story goes that he attached to himself waxen wings, in order to fly towards the sky. In the middle of the flight, since the sun was striking him more severely, the wings dissolved and he fell in [...] the sea, [...] and as he fell, he drowned in the sea.[22]

In *Letter* 28 written between 1330 and 1331 (Leone 1982: 93), Gregoras invoked the image of Ikaros again, this time providing a more predictable interpretation of the story. He presented Ikaros as a fool equipped with excessive insolence who did not want to walk the earth any longer and therefore, desired something beyond his nature, namely to fly. His means, however, were "perilous and far from what is considered to be of a sensible person."[23] In the case of *Letter* 28, Ikaros' story served, in fact, as an opening of an invective in epistolary form against those who insult the study of astronomy. The two renderings of the Ikaros' myth, therefore, the former more explicitly than the latter, both referred to those who despite their desire to advance in astronomy did not possess the right mind for it and their consequent downfall only proved their misfortune, foolishness and even arrogance.

Gregoras made use of the same metaphor of Ikaros found at the beginning of *Letter* 28 in a very similar wording in his *First Antirrhetics* (Beyer 1976: 281, lines 1–14). This time, however, Ikaros was compared to those who attempt to apply logic in order to achieve knowledge of the divine (Ierodiakonou 2002: 222). That is, the employment of Ikaros' myth and its reading as an allegory for insolence, arrogance and lack of reason appears to be a relatively common feature of Gregoras' invectives irrespective of their occasion.

[22] Pietrosanti 1999: 102: ἰκάρου. ὁ δὲ ἴκαρος ἄνθρωπος ἦν καὶ αὐτός· | ἠβουλήθη δὲ τὴν ἀστρονομίαν μαθεῖν, καὶ τοὺς τῶν ἀστέρων δρόμους. μὴ δυνάμενος δὲ ῥαδίως τὰς τῶν λόγων ἀποδείξεις συνιέναι, ἀπεῖπε μεταξὺ τῆς μαθήσεως· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐμυθεύθη ὅτι προσεκόλλησεν ἑαυτῷ κήρινα πτερά, ἵνα πετασθῇ πρὸς οὐρανόν. | μεταξὺ δὲ τῆς πτήσεως τοῦ ἡλίου προσβαλόντος αὐτῷ σφοδρότερον, ἐτάκησαν μὲν τὰ πτερά, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπεπτώκει ἐν ᾧ μέρει τῆς θαλάσσης [...] καὶ πεσὼν ἐπνίγη ἐν τῇ | θαλάσσῃ.

[23] Leone 1982: 93, *Letter* 28, lines 5–6: ἀλλ' ἦν ταῦτα ἐφόδια τἀνδρὶ σφαλερὰ καὶ πρόσω ἢ ὥστε καὶ σωφρονοῦντος εἶναι δοκεῖν.

Notably, the middle section of *Letter* 28 targets the scientific and philosophical incompetence of the calumniators of astronomy. In its three subdivisions Gregoras' argumentation in the middle section of *Letter* 28 follows the following order: first, he ridicules his opponents by comparing them to "planets on earth," thus crafting a word-play based on the literal meaning of the Greek πλάνης, i.e. "wanderer," someone or something that moves irregularly. Gregoras likens the calumniators of astronomy to bodies with irrational motion that not only do not belong to the terrestrial sphere, but also, as their chaotic movements show, do not conform in their actions to the universal laws governing the heavens. Moreover, Gregoras remarks, it is perhaps on purpose that Ptolemy did not study these "earthly planets" since it is impossible to deliver an interpretation of something irrational:

> And it motivated me greatly to wonder at the wise Ptolemy who investigated it all, namely, how it had escaped his notice that there are "planets" also on earth and since they measure badly, they both wage war against the <phenomena> in the heavens and are contemptuous against the sphere above. But, as it is seems, he had allowed this to remain in silence on purpose. For he (i.e. Ptolemy) did not know an interpretation for those whose motion and movement are irrational. For Jupiter, Venus, and Mercury have a regular course and, as they say, fixed and besides <they> sustain the terrestrial events with the help of some mystical powers. These <people> <have> some obscure and irregular <motions>, such as the shooting stars beneath the lunar sphere carry with themselves.[24]

One finds the same word-play concerning the existence of "earthly planets" both in Gregoras' *Letter* 40[25] and in his dialogue *Phlorentios*.[26]

[24] Leone 1982: 94, *Letter* 28, lines 22–31: Ἐμὲ δὲ καὶ μάλα ἐπῆρε θαυμάζειν τοῦ τὰ πάντα ἀνεζητηκότος σοφοῦ Πτολεμαίου, ὅπως ἄρα ἐλελήθεισαν αὐτὸν πλάνητες ὄντες κἀπὶ τῆς γῆς φαύλως διαμετροῦντες καὶ ἀντιστρατευόμενοι τοῖς ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ κατὰ τῆς ἄνω φρυαττόμενοι λήξεως. ἀλλ', ὡς ἔοικεν, ἑκὼν γε εἶναι τοῦτο παραλέλοιπε σιγῇ· ὧν γὰρ ἄλογος ἡ φορά τε καὶ κίνησις ἑρμηνέα λόγον οὐκ οἶδε. Φαέθοντες μὲν γὰρ καὶ Ἑωσφόροι καὶ Στίλβοντες τεταγμένην ἔχουσι τὴν πλάνην καί, ὡς εἰπεῖν, ἀπλανῆ καὶ προσέτι μυστικαῖς τισι δυνάμεσι τὰ ἐπίγεια βόσκουσαν. οὗτοι δὲ σκοτεινήν τινα καὶ ἀτακτοῦσαν καὶ οἵαν οἱ ὑπὸ τὴν τῆς σελήνης σφαῖραν διᾴττοντες φέρονται.

[25] Leone 1982: 135–136, *Letter* 40, lines 38–40: [...] βραχὲ' ἄττα τῶν μεσημβρινῶν τουτωνὶ λήρων ἐξελέγξωμεν, ἢ μᾶλλον εἰπεῖν, τῶν γηΐνων πλανήτων καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα τῆς ἄνω λήξεως καταψευδομένων [...]

[26] Leone 1975: 127–128, lines 1712–1719: εἰ δὲ καὶ Πτολεμαῖος τότε παρῆν, οἶμαι, ἐθαύμασεν ἂν ὅπως ἄρα ἐλελήθεσαν αὐτὸν πλάνητες ὄντες κἀπὶ τῆς γῆς φαύλως κατὰ τῆς ἄνω γαυρούμενοι λήξεως ἀλλ' ὡς ἔοικεν ἑκὼν γε εἶναι παραλέλοιπε τοῦτο σιγῇ· ὧν γὰρ ἄλογος ἡ φορά τε καὶ κίνησις, ταῦθ' ἑρμηνέα λόγον οὐκ οἶδε. Φαέθοντες γὰρ καὶ Ἑωσφόροι καὶ

While in *Letter* 40 its target remains unnamed as in *Letter* 28, in the *Phlorentios* it is clearly refers to Xenophanes, that is, the alias Gregoras created for Barlaam the Calabrian.[27]

Gregoras' polemical letters in defense of astronomy unravel within the same timeframe as that of the production of *Vat. gr.* 1087, namely during the first half of the 1330s, alongside his rivalry with Barlaam the Calabrian exemplified by the calculations of a number of eclipses (in 1330, 1331, and 1337), by the circulation of arguments concerning the correct calculation of the date of Easter (Gregoras probably in 1324 and Barlaam in 1333; see Tihon 2011: 362, 391, 402), by the revision of Gregoras' *On the Construction of the Astrolabe*, and finally, by the composition of his dialogue *Phlorentios* (*c.* 1337). In comparison with these works, the *Hortatory Letter* differs in two main respects, namely, first, it is not a polemical piece, but rather an exhortation, and second, the narrative invokes the presence of Gregoras' mentor Metochites as an addressee of the letter. While the *Phlorentios* also refers to Metochites (through his alias Metrodoros) and his erudition, but also to his political downfall, the confiscation of his property and subsequent exile, the restoration to the capital two years later and finally, his death, the narrator of the Platonic dialogue, nevertheless, postulates a very different relationship between mentor and disciple, namely a relationship of equality. Referring to Nikagoras (Gregoras' alias in the dialogue) and Metrodoros, Phlorentios describes them as long-term friends and a single soul which nourishes two bodies,[28] thus employing a topos characteristic for Byzantine friendship literature and especially for friendship letters which, in turn, implies the equality and unity of the friends-correspondents *qua* friends (Karlsson 1959: 22–23, 57–67). The *Hortatory Letter* as well as the rest of the letters Gregoras addressed to Theodore Metochites (especially *Letters* 24a and 26), however, are all written in order to praise their distinguished addressee who is clearly not portrayed as an equal to Gregoras. *Letter* 26, for instance, describes Gregoras' search for "all wisdom" which he holds in higher esteem than "all happiness

Στίλβοντες τεταγμένην ἔχουσι τὴν πλάνην καὶ ὡς εἰπεῖν ἀπλανῆ, οὗτοι δ' ἀτακτοῦσαν καὶ οἵαν οἱ ὑπὸ σελήνην διάττοντες.

[27] Leone 1975: 128, lines 1719–1724: ἐπεὶ δὲ καθάπερ οἱ πίθηκοι τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων πολλάκις ὑποκρινόμενοι, πίθηκοι πάλιν ὄντες ἐλέγχονται, οὕτω καὶ Ξενοφάνης ὁ Θρασυμάχου "πολλὰς καὶ παντοδαπὰς" ἐπιτετηδευκὼς τῶν ὕβρεων τὰς ἐπιβουλὰς κατὰ Νικαγόρου καθ' ἑαυτοῦ "κινῶν" ἐφαίνετο τὸν "ἀνάγυρον" καὶ ἀμαθὴς εἶναι πολλαχόθεν ἠλέγχετο [...]

[28] Leone 1975: 74, lines 426–429: καὶ ἦσαν λοιπὸν ἀμφότεροι συνόντες ἀλλήλοις Μητρόδωρός τε καὶ Νικαγόρας· φίλω γὰρ ἤστην πάλαι πολὺν ἤδη χρόνον καὶ δύο σωμάτων μία τις ἦν ψυχὴ τρόφιμος.

in the past". Gregoras' quest for all-encompassing knowledge finds its resolution with the help of divine providence, as it were, when he makes Metochites' acquaintance:

> God, the one who widens the narrow straits and demonstrates the things difficult to procure <to be> easy, gave me the desired thing, providing it without any trouble. The *logos* hints at you in every way and <I am> so much more full of hope, so much that I would not be able to find <another such person> not even if I go around the entire earth together with the sea. Thus, I exhorted myself to present myself at your gates in future, as a hopeful suppliant, wishing very much to enjoy to satiety the feast of your mind.[29]

Thus, Metochites' image is construed as a source of all wisdom and consequently, the second rhetorical intention of the letter is developed, namely Gregoras' plea to partake in Metochites' learning in order to quench his thirst for knowledge. *Letter* 24a as well is a full-blown praise of Metochites which once again emphasizes his all-encompassing knowledge. Gregoras stresses his mentor's multiple and diverse talents and occupations, thus underlining the vastness and comprehensiveness of the latter's knowledge of rhetoric, poetry, astronomy, politics and philosophy. Furthermore, Gregoras states that "Homer, Plato, Ptolemy, and Plutarch, together with those who were great disciples of wisdom, are resurrected to be united now in the single body of yours (i.e. of Metochites)."[30] Similar rhetoric of praise, with a focus on Metochites' all-pertaining wisdom, in this case, however, embodied in his *Elements of Astronomy*, one finds also in Gregoras' *Letter* 23. Finally, *Letter* XX (Bezdechi (ed.) 1924: 330–336), addressed initially to Demetrios Kabasilas and subsequently rededicated to Joseph the Philosopher (van Dieten 1979a: 175–176), which contains Gregoras' arguments concerning the correction of the date of Easter, describes Metochites as "the greatest leader and teacher of all science which examines with precision

[29] Leone 1982: 91, *Letter* 26, lines 5–12: θεὸς δὲ ὁ τά τε στενὰ πλατύνων καὶ εὔπορα δεικνὺς τὰ δυσπόριστα, τὸ ποθούμενον ἄπονον φέρων μοι δίδωσιν. σὲ δὲ πάντως ὁ λόγος αἰνίττεται καὶ τοσούτῳ πλέον τῆς ἐλπίδος, ὅσον οὐκ ἄν, οὐδ' εἰ πᾶσαν ἄν περιῆλθον γῆν ὁμοῦ τε καὶ θάλατταν, εἶχον εὑρεῖν. ταύτῃ τοι καὶ πρὸς ταῖς σαῖς τοῦ λοιποῦ καθῆσθαι θύραις ἐμαυτῷ παρήνεσα, πάνυ τοι σφόδρα ἱκέτην εὐέλπιδα τῆς σῆς λογικῆς ἀπολελαυκέναι τραπέζης ἐς κόρον βεβουλημένος.

[30] Leone 1982: 83, *Letter* 24a, lines 41–44: [...]Ὅμηρον καὶ Πλάτωνα καὶ Πτολεμαῖον καὶ Πλούταρχον καὶ ὁμοῦ τοὺς ὅσοι μεγάλης θιασῶται σοφίας ὑπῆρξαν, ἀναστάντας ἐν ἑνὶ τῷ σῷ ξυνεληλυθέναι σώματι νῦν [...]

the heavenly phenomena and describes the terrestrial events, as well as those <which occur> under and near the earth".[31] This description of Metochites is inserted in the narrative by means of an explanation as to why Gregoras was the one encouraged by the emperor Andronikos II to talk about astronomy in front of him and a gathering of men of high repute who knew nothing of the science. Namely, Gregoras was approached in the absence of the greatest authority on the matter, the latter being Metochites as specified by a marginal note on f. 75v in *Vat. gr.* 1086.[32] Importantly, the whole episode justifying why Gregoras and not anyone else was charged with the task of praising astronomy and with relating the issue of the correct calculation of the Easter date (Bezdechi 1924: 331, *Letter* XX, lines 21–29) was excluded in the incorporation of the text of the letter in the *Roman History* (Schopen 1829: 364, lines 12–14, *HR*, *Book* VIII, 13). Thus, though both texts relate events dating to 1324, the narrative of the *History* did not assume that Gregoras' expertise was subordinated to that of Metochites and thus, it could only be invoked in his absence, while the letter which was written in order to report a very recent event,[33] reflected the need to account for the emperor choosing Gregoras over his mentor.

Returning to Gregoras' *Hortatory Letter*, one of the main intentions of the *Paraklētikē* as an independent work was also, as in *Letter* 26, to praise Metochites' excellence in the practice of astronomy, as well as to appeal to him to share his knowledge on the subject, thus complying with the universal law of friendship. The *Hortatory Letter* followed roughly the following line of reasoning: The pleasant things in life are by nature distributed unevenly. This inequality preconditions the existence of mutual affinity between those who lack and those who possess, those who ask for something and those who provide it:

> If the nature were able to distribute all the pleasures in life equally to all, the quest for them would have been perhaps unlovely and not painstaking; henceforth, then it would happen easily that the relations of mutual love be severed. Now, since it was necessary that the pleasures be mixed

[31] Bezdechi 1924: 331, *Letter* XX, lines 23–24: [...] ὁ μέγιστος ἡγεμὼν καὶ διδάσκαλος ἁπάσης ἐπιστήμης ὅση τε ἀκριβῶς ἐρευνᾶ τὰ οὐράνια καὶ ὅση δίεισι τὰ ἐπίγεια καὶ ὑπόγεια καὶ περίγεια [...]

[32] *Vat. gr.* 1086, f. 75$^{v}$: περὶ τοῦ μεγάλου λογοθέτου τοῦ Μετοχίτου λέγει. See also van Dieten 1975: 147. For a German translation of the relevant parts of *Letter* XX, see van Dieten 1979a: 176–177, note 143.

[33] Bezdechi 1924: 330, *Letter* XX, lines 1–2: [...] ἄκουσον οἷα μοι ξυνηνέχθη τὴν πρότριτα καὶ αὖθις οἷα μοι τὴν χθές.

> again with the sorrows [...]; and on the one hand, this one asks for, that one gives, on the other, and vice versa. And both <happen> through all time; and this becomes a law of friendship and a bond [...].[34]

The interactions between the one in need and the one satisfying it express the law of friendship which permeated not only human society, but also bonded the land, the sea and the rivers. If someone blessed with good abstained from distributing it, he or she committed injustice and moreover, was establishing the evil as a law. For, "nothing good comes to no one from the providence for the sake of a single person on the receiving side, namely, as the light does not <come> to the sun so that it alone would profit from it."[35] If things were to exist permanently and people were to be immortal, one could think otherwise with respect to sharing the good. This not being the case, however, some people were concerned with perpetuating their name. In an age "barren" (*αἰὼν ἄκαρπον*) and "void of wisdom" (*ἔρημόν τε σοφίας ἀπάσης*), as Gregoras described it, Metochites appeared as an "excellent image of nature" (*κρατίστην εἰκόνα φύσεως*), "a moon among stars and a fire in frost and winter" (*σελήνην ἐν ἀστράσι καὶ ζώπυρον ἐν κρυμῷ καὶ χειμῶνι*); also "a great aid for all, inasmuch as <he was> helping the great emperor, just like those who observe the pole star and the Great Bear <help> the steersmen."[36] Since even the glory of the great men of the past faded away quickly, Gregoras was concerned with the preservation of Metochites' memory. Thus, he appealed to him "to give a share of <his> adornment to the motherland like the likes of Lykourgos and Solon; <to> honor this famous city like the likes of Socrates and Plato <honored> Athens in the past."[37] More importantly, Metochites should "show more clearly who is the governor of the

[34] *Vat. gr.* 1087, f. 1r, lines 1–7, my own transcription: εἰ μ(ὲν) ἐπίσης ἅπασιν ἅπαντα τὰ τοῦ βίου τερπνὰ διανέμειν εἶχ(εν) ἡ φύσις, ἀνέραστος ἂν ἦν δήπου γε κ(αὶ) ἀταλαίπωρος ἡ τούτων ζήτησις· καὶ ῥᾷστα δὴ τοὐντεῦθ(εν) τῆς φιλαλληλί(ας) ὑποτέμνεσθαι ξυνέβαινε τοὺς λόγους. νῦν δ' ἐπειδὴ ἔδει ἀνακεκρᾶσθαι τοῖς λυπηροῖς τὰ ἡδέα [...] καὶ ζητεῖ μ(ὲν) οὗτος· δίδωσι δ' ἐκεῖνος· καὶ τοὐναντίον αὖθις. κ(αὶ) διὰ παντὸς ἑκάτερ(ον)· κ(αὶ) νόμος τοῦτο γίνεται φιλί(ας) καὶ δεσμὸς [...]...

[35] *Vat. gr.* 1087, f. 1r, lines 14–15, my own transcription: [...] μηδ(ὲν) μηδενὶ παρὰ τ(ῆς) προνοί(ας) ἀγαθ(ὸν) παραγίγνεσθαι δι' ἕνα γέ τινα τ(ὸν) εἰληφότα· ὡς ἄρα οὐδ' ἡλίῳ τὸ φῶς, ἵν' αὐτὸς ἀπολαύοι μόνος.

[36] *Vat. gr.* 1087, f. 1r, line 32–f. 1v, line 2, my own transcription: καὶ μέγα μ(ὲν) τ' ἂν ὄφελος εἶναί σε τ(οῖς) κοινοῖς [f. 1v] ὁμολογοίημ(εν) ἅπαντες, ἅτε τῷ μεγάλῳ βασιλεῖ συναιρόμεν(ον), ὅσα κ(αὶ) κυβερνήταις οἱ τ(ὸν) πόλον καὶ τ(ὴν) Ἑλίκ(ην) διασκοπούμ(ενοι).

[37] *Vat. gr.* 1087, f. 1v, lines 6–8, my own transcription: μετάδος τοῦ σοῦ κόσμου τῇ θρεψαμ(ένῃ), καθάπερ Λυκοῦργοι καὶ Σόλωνες. τίμησον τὸ διαβόητον ἄστυ τουτὶ· καθάπερ τὴν Ἀθηναίων πάλαι Σωκράτεις καὶ Πλάτωνες.

universe and of what character then is its harmonious arrangement."[38] For no one of those who Gregoras had met, managed to disperse his doubts concerning the matter. In addition, it would be a shame if "on the one hand, the heavens resonating around the entire earth describe God's glory, while on the other, we turn a deaf ear not paying attention to the things they say."[39] Finally, Gregoras stated the motivation behind his appeal, namely his concern that time would eventually conceal the good that Metochites and his knowledge represented.

As part of *Book* VIII of Gregoras' *History*, the *Hortatory Discourse* followed much the same line of thought. Gregoras, however, introduced a handful of modifications. First, the *Hortatory Discourse* was presented as a speech delivered before Metochites and its intention, besides the preservation of the *megas logothetes*' memory, was to persuade him that Gregoras was prepared and worthy of being instructed in the matters of astronomy. Second, besides adding an introduction in order to contextualize the text, some small stylistic corrections were made and a few passages were further elaborated. Three claims were strengthened in the *History*'s narrative: 1) the description of the contemporary epoch as barren; 2) the concern with the preservation of Metochites' memory; 3) finally, the motivation for Gregoras' appeal to Metochites was stated more explicitly as concern for Metochites' future glory.

In sum, in the case of the *Hortatory Letter* as introductory piece to *Vat. gr.* 1087, a discourse, intended to praise Gregoras' mentor and to preserve his legacy, introduced Metochites' *Elements of Astronomy* and emphasized its excellence, its rarity and its importance for the emperor, for the city, and for the people. In this context, the appeal for instruction in astronomy was just a formality, since the reader received immediately, already on the next folio, the knowledge Gregoras had requested. Thus, Gregoras not only made sure that Metochites would be remembered for his astronomical pursuits, but he also cleverly claimed his own role in the transmission of the said knowledge. After all, thanks to Gregoras' concerned petition, Metochites' legacy was assembled and presented to the public. In the case of the hortatory speech included in the *History*, while the remembrance of Metochites' scientific legacy is reiterated as main motivation for Gregoras' appeal, the focus of the reader shifted to

[38] *Vat. gr.* 1087, f. 1v, lines 8–9, my own transcription: δεῖξον ἐναργέστερον τίς ὁ τοῦ παντὸς ἁρμοστ(ὴς)· καὶ ποία ποθ' ἡ τούτων παναρμόνιος σύνταξις.

[39] *Vat. gr.* 1087, f. 1v, lines 12–13, my own transcription: [...] οὐ(ρα)νοὺς μ(ὲν) διηγεῖσθαι δόξαν θ(εο)ῦ, περιηχοῦντ(ας) πᾶσ(αν) γῆν, ἡμ(ᾶς) δὲ κωφεύειν, οὐκ ἐπαΐοντας ἅττα φασὶν [...]

the actual occasion for the discourse's delivery, namely it represented a demonstration of the fact that Gregoras was prepared and fitting for the position of Metochites' disciple. Consequently, the second astronomical discourse Gregoras inserted within the framework of *Book* VIII, namely the one concerning the calculation of the date of Easter, omitted the portrayal of Metochites as the most excellent astronomical expert and did not feature the justification of the emperor's choice of Gregoras as a spokesman and defender of the four mathematical sciences which was included in the earlier version of the text preserved as *Letter* XX. Moreover, by means of a narrative progression, the second interpolated discourse employed a technical vocabulary regarding the correct calculation of the date of the vernal equinox, thus suggesting that it was designed to demonstrate not only that Gregoras had acquired the specialized astronomical knowledge, but also that he was, in a way, granted the special "license" to address an issue of great importance, both liturgical and political, requiring a high level of specialized expertise, namely the computus.

Paolo Odorico

# Identité et craintes. Théodore Pédiasimos à Serrès au XIV^e^ siècle

La segmentation dans les études empêche parfois de saisir des renseignements qui peuvent être fort utiles pour mieux cerner une période historique. L'historien de la littérature se trouve en difficulté pour comprendre des passages dans les textes qu'il fréquente, et l'historien qui essaie de reconstruire une série d'événements peut être détourné par la qualité de ses sources, constituées d'habitude par les contemporains qui donnent des renseignements non dépourvus de jugements partiaux. La sociolinguistique entre dans ce processus de compréhension d'une société, parce qu'elle est en condition de nous livrer des renseignements, parfois ténus, qui nous font saisir le ressenti d'un groupe social à un moment donné de son histoire. C'est de l'union entre méthode historique, analyse philologique et étude linguistique que certains détails peuvent nous ouvrir grand les portes des sentiments, normalement insaisissables avec les procédés traditionnels. Je voudrais porter l'exemple d'une micro-histoire, ou plutôt d'un micro-texte, pour voir à quel point le croisement des différentes méthodes peut se révéler utile.

Si nous tournons notre attention vers la période de la guerre civile qui secoua l'Empire dans la quatrième décennie du XIV^e^ siècle, nous devons admettre que nos sources sont limitées, que nous sommes beaucoup mieux informés sur les hauts faits de Constantinople ou de Thessalonique, que sur les autres provinces de l'Empire dont nos connaissances sont davantage redevables à l'œuvre de Jean Cantacuzène, qui était partie prenante, et de Grégoras, tandis que d'autres voix restent silencieuses, nous empêchant de voir un peu plus clair dans une situation qui était on ne peut plus complexe.

En effet, le début du XIV^e^ siècle était l'une des périodes les plus difficiles de l'Empire byzantin. Cent ans après la prise de Constantinople par les Croisés en 1204, l'Etat ne s'est toujours pas remis, loin de là : les efforts militaires et diplomatiques des premiers Paléologues avaient été mis à dure épreuve par les ambitions des grands protagonistes qui voulaient s'assurer le contrôle de l'Etat, Anne de Savoie et Jean Cantacuzène. Les événements sont assez bien connus. Mais la situation était tragique

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aussi et surtout dans les provinces : si l'Asie Mineure avait été délaissée et l'Etat s'était concentré sur la partie européenne, la Macédoine, cœur de l'Empire, subissait de plein fouet les effets de la déstabilisation régionale due aux différents peuples qui essayaient de s'imposer dans la région, aux contrastes entre les deux factions en lutte pour le pouvoir suprême, ainsi qu'aux troupes ottomanes et aux mercenaires qui sévissaient.

L'analyse menée par L. Maksimović sur la complexité des enjeux politiques[1] est éclairante, et nous met en garde contre toute tentative de simplifier la donne. Dans cette intervention je voudrais porter mon attention sur un passage d'un écrivain mineur, peu connu, mais qui à nos yeux à le grand avantage d'avoir vécu dans une ville clé de la lutte qui frappait de plein fouet la Macédoine, mais sur laquelle nos renseignements sont minces : Théodore Pédiasimos. Son œuvre nous est précieuse pour comprendre certains détails secondaires, comme des données anthropologiques ou archéologiques qui mériteraient une étude plus vaste allure. Mais elle est aussi précieuse, comme nous le verrons, pour vérifier « sur le terrain » quels étaient les sentiments de la population grecque. J'avancerai donc des hypothèses qui me semblent être les plus probables pour comprendre un passage intéressant, mais qui demeure obscur.

Tout ce que nous savons sur cet auteur vient d'un manuscrit aujourd'hui conservé à Vienne, le *Vindob. Phil. Gr.* 219 : dans ce manuscrit[2], des ouvrages qui lui sont attribués, ainsi qu'un ensemble de lettres, nous donnent quelques indices – très fragmentaires – sur un auteur savant, dont nous ignorons tout par ailleurs[3].

Le manuscrit se présente comme une collection de textes d'un érudit de l'époque paléologue, et est composé de deux parties dont la seconde (f. 177-287) date du XV^e^ siècle, et ne nous concerne pas directement. La première partie a été écrite par un seul copiste, Jean Anagnostès Apostolarios, qui souscrit au f. 101v et indique la date : avril 5^ème^ indiction, 6845 (= 1337). La présence de souscriptions se référant à des fonctionnaires de la Métropole de Serrès montre que le manuscrit a été conservé (sinon réalisé) dans cette ville, où Théodore Pédiasimos vivait[4].

[1] Maksimović 1995 : 195–208.

[2] Hunger 1961 : 326–330.

[3] Le manuscrit a été étudié par Treu 1899, qui a procédé à la publication des textes de Pédiasimos qu'il nous transmet. Treu a procédé aussi à une étude plus large, visant à établir les connexions de notre auteur : ce livre, qui représente le point de départ de toute considération sur cet auteur, demeure largement valide encore aujourd'hui.

[4] Je tiens à remercier Christian Gastgeber qui a procédé à une analyse du manuscrit, en me communiquant les résultats. Les trois fonctionnaires de la métropole de Ser-

Mais une analyse du contenu du manuscrit nous en dit davantage. Jusqu'au f. 101v, Jean Anagnostès Apostolarios avait copié des ouvrages de rhétorique appartenant à des auteurs anciens (Gorgias, Pindare, Pythagore, Basile de Césarée, Grégoire de Nazianze), le seul auteur récent étant Thomas Magistros qui était encore en activité dans les années quarante du XIV[e] s.. Par contre, après le f. 101v, où se trouve la datation 1337, les œuvres contenues concernent ou des auteurs anciens (Libanios, Hippocrate, Cassia, l'*Hymne acathiste* ou des ouvrages anonymes), ou – et surtout – un corpus d'écrits dont les auteurs sont des contemporains du copiste, parmi lesquels se trouve Théodore Pédiasimos. En outre, un petit ensemble de 8 lettres (dont trois sans nom du destinataire), envoyées par Théodore, nous donne des indications chronologiques plus précises : parmi les destinataires nous retrouvons les noms de Nicolas Cabasilas, Démétrius Kydonès et Sophianos, celui du protekdikos Kalorrhizos, ou encore le nom d'Andronikos Zaridès.

Or, Cabasilas et Kydonès étaient nés autour de 1320, tandis qu'Andronikos Zaridès, qui avait été correspondant de Maxime Planoudès, était décédé après 1327[5] ; ces deux catégories chronologiques de correspondants nous amènent à considérer que la naissance de notre Théodore doit se situer vers la fin du XIII[e] ou le tout début du XIV[e]. D'autre part, évidemment Théodore ne pouvait pas adresser des lettres savantes aux deux premiers correspondants avant leur âge adulte, disons autour des années'50 du XIV[e] s. : la datation du manuscrit à 1337 (lorsque Cabasilas et Kydonès étaient des jeunes adolescents) ne peut concerner que la première partie du manuscrit et les ouvrages conservés dans cette partie. En outre, il faut considérer que, toujours après le f. 101v, avec la datation, le manuscrit contient des compositions de grande actualité, comme, au f. 144v, un fragment d'une lettre aux Grecs du pape Jean XXII (mort en 1334) ; aux f. 142r-v une poésie de Manuel Philès pour la mort d'Andronic II Paléologue, survenue en 1332 ; et surtout, au f. 143r-v un panégyrique de Marc Angélos pour Jean VI Cantacuzène[6], proclamé empereur en 1341, mais dont le couronnement officiel date de 1346. Enfin, il faut signaler que parmi les lettres, une était adressée au *protekdikos* Kalorrhizos, personnage connu par les documents du codex B du Mo-

rès dont le nom est écrit dans des monocondyles, sont le archidiacre de Serrès Manuel (f. 101v), le *protapostolarios* Jean Sanianos (ou Sanialos ? : f. 173v), et le *protapostolarios* Théodore Poleiatès (f. 174v).

[5] Tinnefeld 2000 : 370.

[6] Le panégyrique est sans titre dans le manuscrit : il a été édité par Lampros 1906 : 438 s.

nastère-Saint-Jean-Prodrome de Serrès : apparemment Kalorrhizos avait occupé la charge de *protekdikos* jusqu'en 1336[7].

Nous devons donc admettre que ce manuscrit est le résultat d'une activité étalée sur plusieurs années (environ une vingtaine [?]). Certes, existe toujours la possibilité que dans la partie 'plus récente' le copiste ait transcrit des ouvrages plus anciens ; cependant il me semble beaucoup plus logique de penser qu'après 1337 Jean Anagnostès Apostolarios ait ajouté des cahiers, où il aurait transcrit des ouvrages de ses contemporains, produits après 1337[8] : notamment la datation plus tardive que le 1337 des lettres envoyées à Kydonès et Cabasilas nous amène à cette conclusion, qui semble renforcée par l'analyse du contenu d'un passage, qui fera l'objet de cette étude.

Dans cette ensemble copié après 1337 se trouvent tous les ouvrages que nous possédons de Théodore Pédiasimos : les *Lettres* envoyées à des amis, un *Panégyrique en l'honneur de Joseph l'Hymnographe*, l'*Ekphrasis de la Métropole de Serrès*[9], les *Miracula des saints Théodore*, un *Panégyrique en l'honneur du soleil*, un *Panégyrique en l'honneur de l'été*, des vers *Pour la Pentecôte* et *Pour Jean Chrysostome*. Le texte auquel je ferai référence, les *Miracles des saints Théodore*, se trouve aux f. 123r-129v.

Théodore Pédiasimos appartient donc à la génération des savants actifs pendant les guerres civiles ayant déchiré l'Empire byzantin, durant la première moitié du XIV^e^ siècle[10]. Il pourrait appartenir à la famille des Pédiasimoi, qu'illustre la figure de Jean Pothos Pédiasimos, lequel fut *hypatos* des philosophes, et ensuite chartophylax de la métropole d'Ohrid[11]. Théodore avait certainement fait de bonnes études, comme le démontre le haut niveau stylistique de ses ouvrages. Mais, à ce sujet, nous en savons davantage : en célébrant Joseph l'Hymnographe, qui vécut un temps à Thessalonique, Pédiasimos qualifie cette ville de

[7] Bénou 1998. Sur ce personnage, Schaller 2013 : 49–50.

[8] On pourrait ajouter que parmi les filigranes se trouvent une Couronne (Briquet 4597 : Bologne 1342), et une Balance (similaire à Briquet 12400 : Sienne 1337).

[9] J'ai procédé à la réédition de l'Ekphrasis de la Métropole de Serrès et des Miracula des saints Théodore dans un ouvrage collectif paru récemment : Odorico 2013 : 127–154.

[10] La bibliographie sur Théodore Pédiasimos est réduite et répétitive : les études sont toutes fondées sur le livre de Treu 1899, avec les intégrations de Papageorgiou 1901 : 425–432. Voir aussi Dyobouniotes 1921 : 171–174. Toutes les références à Théodore ne font que rapporter les rares informations dont nous disposons, et on n'en trouvera pas davantage chez Beck 1959 ; Hunger 1978 ; Constantinides 1982 ; ou dans *ODB*.

[11] Laurent 1932 : 327–349.

« maitresse de mes discours et ma nourrice dans la logique » [12]. D'autre part, les nombreuses références à la ville de Serrès, observables tout au long de ses compositions, de même que la constatation selon laquelle il déclare à plusieurs reprises qu'il s'agit de « sa » ville, ainsi que le souvenir de nombreux événements s'étant produits à Serrès, nous permettent de conclure avec certitude qu'il y habitait. Sa correspondance avec des personnages savants nous montre le réseau d'amitiés dont il jouissait. M. Treu s'est déjà suffisamment attardé sur tous ces personnages ainsi que sur leurs liaisons d'amitié [13].

Si j'ai abordé si longuement la question de la datation des ouvrages, c'est parce que dans les *Miracles des saints Théodore* il y a un passage qui nous occupe pour comprendre la pensée politique de l'auteur. Après avoir traité les événements miraculeux dus aux deux saints, et qui sont intervenus à Serrès, il conclut son discours avec l'affirmation suivante [14] :

> γένοιτο συγγενικαῖς χερσί – τοῦτο δὲ λέγω οὐ τοσοῦτον πρὸς τὴν τῆς σαρκὸς ἀφορῶν ἀγχιστείαν, ὅσον πρὸς τὴν τῶν ψυχῶν συμφυίαν τε καὶ συνάφειαν, ἥ δὴ συγγενείᾳ τοσοῦτον ἰσχύος περίεστιν, ὡς καὶ τὰ πόρρω τοῖς τοπικοῖς διαστήμασι καὶ οἱονεὶ ἐκ διαμέτρου εὐφυῶς καὶ μάλα συνάπτειν, ὡς καί τις ἔφη που τῶν παλαιῶν ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ περιφανής, ἐν οἷς οὑτωσί πως λέγει· καὶ γένοιτ'ἂν οὕτω συγγενεῖς εἶναι Λίβυν ἄνδρα καὶ Παρθιαῖον –, γένοιτο τοίνυν συγγενικαῖς, ὅπερ ἔφην, χερσὶν ἐς ἀεὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν [15] πόλιν ἀβλαβῆ διασώζεσθαι, τὰς Φερράς φημι, εἰς δόξαν τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν, τοῦ ἐν τριάδι γνωριζομένου, ᾧ πᾶσα δόξα πρέπει, νῦν καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν.

Voici la traduction que je propose : « que par des mains de notre race – je dis cela non tellement pour ce qui concerne les affinités du corps, mais

[12] *Panégyrique en l'honneur de Joseph l'Hymnographe*, in Treu 1899 : 3, 28–31. « τῶν ἐμῶν λόγων διδάσκαλος καὶ λογικὴ τροφὸς ἡμετέρα, εἰ καὶ μὴ τελείως καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἐμὴν ἐξεθρέψατο βούλησιν, ἐναντίως ἢ κατὰ τὴν πρόθεσιν τοῦ καιροῦ συμπέσοντος ».

[13] Treu 1899 : 55 s.

[14] Le passage, qui sert de conclusion aux *Miracula*, se trouve à la p. 141 de mon édition (Odorico 2013).

[15] Le manuscrit écrit ὑμετέραν, et c'est ainsi que Treu 1899 et moi-même (Odorico 2013) l'avons édité, mais à tort : le texte doit être corrigé, car dans plusieurs autres passages Pédiasimos parle de Serrès comme de la ville où il habite et où on célèbre la gloire des saints martyrs (Ἑορτὴν ἤγομεν δημοτελῆ Μαιμακτηριῶνος ὀγδόῃ ἱσταμένου ἐπὶ μνήμαις ἑσπέρας τοῦ Στρατηλάτου εἴσω τοῦ μαρτυρικοῦ καὶ θείου τούτων νεώ « Nous fêtions publiquement la Saint Théodore Stratélatès le 8 de Maimaktérion au soir à l'intérieur du temple divin de ces deux martyrs » : Odorico 2013 : 140, 5–6) ; d'ailleurs, une note dans le manuscrit en haut de la page, dû à la main de quelqu'un qui corrige et commente le texte, écrit clairement εἰς ἀεὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν πόλιν.

plutôt pour ce qui concerne l'identité et l'union des âmes, et qu'une telle force existe en vertu de cette parenté, du moment où il y a une telle force grâce à cette affinité, que même ce qui est loin par distance physique et comme à l'opposé, s'unit fortement et opportunément, comme l'a dit quelqu'un des anciens[16], fameux pour sa sagesse, en s'exprimant peu ou prou par ces mots : et que soit fait que deviennent de la même race le Libyen et le Parthe – que par des mains de notre race, comme je le disais, notre ville soit conservée indemne pour toujours, Serrès, à la gloire de notre vrai Dieu, qui est connu dans la Trinité, et auquel est due toute la gloire maintenant et pour les siècles des siècles, Amen ».

A qui Théodore fait-il référence ? Quelles sont les *mains de notre race* qui doivent préserver la ville de Serrès ? Certes, si nous connaissions la date exacte de la composition des *Miracles* la réponse aurait été plus facile. Voyons donc les événements qui se déroulent à Serrès autour de la période probable de composition de l'ouvrage, considérant que le manuscrit comporte la date de 1337 avant le texte qui nous occupe, et que, par les raisons que j'ai énoncées plus haut, cette date devrait être considérée comme un *terminus post quem*. Ce qui peut nous aider dans la datation est le souhait de Théodore que la ville soit préservée par des mains συγγενικαῖς. Or, jusqu'en 1345 Serrès était sous contrôle des forces byzantines loyales à la dynastie des Paléologues, et s'était opposée aux tentatives de Cantacuzène de s'en emparer. Imaginer que Théodore souhaite la sauvegarde de la ville par des mains d'un peuple apparenté spirituellement aux Grecs orthodoxes, au moment où la ville est tenue par les Byzantins, n'a pas de sens : le texte doit avoir été composé certainement non seulement après 1337, comme l'analyse du manuscrit nous suggère, mais aussi après 1345.

En effet, la situation change complètement à partir de l'été 1343, lorsque l'alliance entre Dušan et Cantacuzène est rompue : Dušan se range du côté des ennemis de Cantacuzène et procède à la conquête de la Macédoine, parvenant jusqu'à la ville de Kavala. La prise de Serrès par les Serbes a eu lieu le 25 septembre 1345, avec l'aide du parti « philo-serbe » de la ville : désormais l'attitude de Dušan change, se transformant de roi des Serbes en empereur des Serbes et des Grecs.

Les tensions entre Grecs et Serbes s'accentuent : les évêchés dépendants du patriarcat de Constantinople étaient maintenant placés sous l'autorité du patriarcat de Peć, recevant aussi des dirigeants ecclésiastiques serbes. Ce n'est qu'après la mort de Dušan en 1355 que la situa-

[16] Il s'agit de Synésios de Cyrène, et le passage est tiré de l'*Aegyptii sive de providentia*, l. I, 1.

tion évolue ultérieurement[17], et que des pourparlers sont entamés entre les deux Eglises, sous la menace aussi de l'expansion ottomane : une première mission en 1363 sera menée par le patriarche Calliste, qui se rend à Serrès à la cour d'Hélène, veuve de Dušan, où malheureusement il trouvera la mort. Enfin les pourparlers reprendront en 1375, aboutissant à des accords politiques. Cependant cette date me semble trop éloignée de celle de 1337, la seule contenue dans notre manuscrit, ainsi que par rapport au cadre chronologique de la vie de Théodore, qui, comme nous l'avons vu, doit être né vers la fin du XIII[e] siècle : je ne crois pas que le passage de Théodore Pédiasimos puisse avoir un quelque rapport avec des événements qui se déroulent si tardivement.

Revenons-en donc à la question de fond : à qui fait référence Théodore dans son discours ? Pour la ville de Serrès la période critique débute dans les années'40. Les forces qui s'affrontent à ce moment sont multiples : du côté byzantin, il y a les troupes de Jean Cantacuzène et celles de ses ennemis de la cour, dont Apokaukos était le chef. Avec Cantacuzène se trouvaient les Turcs d'Umur Bey, son allié. Sur le terrain agissaient les Serbes de Dušan, tandis que les Bulgares étaient plutôt intéressés à la forteresse de Didymotique, et que Hrelja contrôlait Mělník et les montagnes entre la Bulgarie et la Macédoine. Or le premier point est celui de la circonstance pendant laquelle l'ouvrage a été « publié ». Comme il suit l'*ekphrasis* de la métropole, que l'église était sous le chapitre des saints Théodore, et que les miracles dont on fait le récit concernent justement les deux saints, nous pouvons imaginer que l'ensemble ait été conçu pour une fête de l'église, peut-être pour la rénovation de l'édifice, ou pour une circonstance de ce genre. Tout laisse penser que cet ensemble textuel était pensé pour être lu en public ; le commencement de l'*ekthesis* des miracles comporte une demande de bénédiction, Εὐλόγησον δέσποτα, qui peut être adressée à Dieu, le Seigneur, ou bien (et cela me semble fort probable) au métropolite de Serrès, le « despote » qui peut bénir l'orateur pendant une cérémonie.

[17] - Sur la situation à Serrès à cette époque, voir les désormais classiques Mavromatis 1978 ; et surtout Ostrogorsky 1965. Parmi la riche bibliographie récente concernant les événements de cette période, je me bornerai à citer les *Actes du Διεθνὲς Συμπόσιο Η βυζαντινὴ Μακεδονία (324-1430 μ. Χ.)*, (Maksimović 1995), ainsi que les volumes de Necipoğlu 2009 et 1996, où se trouvent entre autres les articles éclairantes de S. Ćirković, « Between Kingdom and Empire : Dušan State (1346-1355) Reconsidered », (110–120), N. Oikonomides, « Emperor of the Romans – Emperor of the Romania » (121–128), R. Radić, « Ο Συμεών Ουρέσης Παλαιολόγος και το κράτος του μεταξύ της βυζαντινής και της σερβικής αυτοκρατορίας » (195–208), et L. Mavrommatis, « Sur les antagonismes en Macédoine sous la domination serbe » (330–337).

Que le texte ait été conçu pour une lecture publique, ou pour une diffusion écrite, dans la conclusion Théodore nous parle de quelqu'un qui, même si loin, peut assurer le bien-être de la ville et la préserver dans l'avenir. En outre, nous devons donner la plus grande importance à l'expression que notre auteur utilise : *ce qui est loin par distance physique et comme à l'opposé, s'unit fortement et opportunément* (ὡς καὶ τὰ πόρρω τοῖς τοπικοῖς διαστήμασι καὶ οἱονεὶ ἐκ διαμέτρου εὐφυῶς καὶ μάλα συνάπτειν). Evidemment cette phrase ne peut pas s'appliquer à une période précédant la guerre civile, car la ville était sous le contrôle incontesté de Byzance et de son gouvernement, qui – même si loin – ne pouvait absolument pas être défini de « *à l'opposé* ».

Procédons donc par exclusion. Hrelja était trop loin, et, bien qu'impliqué dans la politique de la Macédoine de l'époque et dans les jeux des alliances, il ne jouait aucun rôle dans les vicissitudes de Serrès : il faut donc l'exclure de notre catalogue. Quant à Cantacuzène, il s'agit d'un candidat de taille. Cependant il faut se rappeler qu'il n'avait pas pu conquérir la ville, qui lui était hostile et avait fermé les portes face à ses troupes : la défaite de Serrès avait compliqué fortement sa conquête du pouvoir. Imaginer que Théodore appartenait au parti philo-Cantacuzène, et qu'il souhaitait l'arrivée de ce dernière pour préserver la ville, me semble aussi peu probable, car Théodore aurait difficilement pu définir Cantacuzène de « non apparenté par le sang, mais par l'âme », ce qui renvoie, comme nous le verrons, au débat identitaire sur l'appartenance au γένος grec.

En outre, Cantacuzène était allié aux Turcs d'Umur Bey. Or, dans le texte des *Miracles*, Théodore fait en deux occasion référence à leurs agissements dans la région, et il en parle dans des termes peu élogieux : une fois à propos des incursions menées par les Turcs et les Catalans qui avaient sévi dans le pays en 1307[18]. Une autre fois à propos d'un miracle concernant un jeune homme enlevé par des ennemis et miraculeusement libéré par les saints Théodore sur prière de la mère de l'otage. Voici comment notre auteur s'exprime : « *Le peuple barbare très hostile et très sacrilège, invincible et irraisonnable lors qu'il attaque, était sorti de ses frontières, car il pensait que posséder tranquillement et gouverner ses propres villes n'était pas signe de bien-être ; il était convaincu que s'il ne conquérait pas les villes des autres, il subirait toute sortes de malheurs, et de façon misérable et impie définissait cela comme une calamité. Je sais que vous comprenez ces sacrilèges comme étant des Perses. Détruisant et mettant*

[18] Le passage se trouve in Odorico 2013 : 139.

*à feu et à sang, de façon horrible et pitoyable, tous les pays où ils survenaient, ils envahirent un village* »[19]. Comme c'est justement Cantacuzène qui avait ouvert la route des Balkans et de l'Europe aux Ottomans, il me semble difficile de le voir derrière le souhait de Théodore.

Il est bien vrai que dans le même manuscrit, plus loin par rapport aux textes qui nous concernent, existe un *Panégyrique pour Jean Cantacuzène*, œuvre de Marc Angélos : nous pouvons imaginer sa date de composition après le couronnement officiel de Jean Cantacuzène de 1346 ; mais, surtout si on imagine que texte des *Miracles* ait été composé pour une circonstance officielle, rien ne nous aide dans l'identification avec Cantacuzène, ni avant sa prise de pouvoir (lorsqu'il était en effet « *comme à l'opposé* »), ni lorsqu'il siégeait sur le trône impérial, car il n'était plus « à l'opposé ». Le même raisonnement vaut aussi pour le pouvoir légitime de Jean Paléologue et de sa mère Anne de Savoie : au gouvernement impérial pourrait peut-être s'appliquer la définition de « *ce qui est loin par distance physique* », mais comment Théodore aurait-il pu définir ce pouvoir de « *comme à l'opposé* » ? Il me semble fort raisonnable de l'exclure de notre liste. D'ailleurs l'expression « *ce qui concerne les affinités du corps, mais plutôt pour ce qui concerne l'identité et l'union des âmes* » ne peut s'appliquer ni à Jean Cantacuzène ni à Jean Paléologue, qui appartenaient à la même « race », selon la terminologie de l'époque, que Théodore Pédiasimos et les habitants de Serrès.

Reste le dernier des protagonistes de cette lutte acharnée, Stéphan Dušan, le roi des Serbes. Que Théodore ait composé son texte avant ou après la prise de Serrès par le roi des Serbes, qui devient depuis « empereur des Grecs et des Serbes », sa définition s'adapte parfaitement à ce personnage : il est quelqu'un de différent par rapport aux Grecs, auxquels cependant il est lié par des rapports spirituels, étant donné qu'il est orthodoxe comme eux.

Mais il en a plus : la stratégie de Dušan pour construire une nouvelle entité étatique comportait aussi la nécessité d'avoir un patriarcat, donc une Eglise, indépendante de celle de Constantinople. La création d'un patriarcat autonome à Peć allait dans cette direction, ainsi que la substitution, où cela a été possible, des métropolites grecs par des Serbes.

[19] « Ἐξήει τῶν οἰκείων ὅρων τὸ δυσμαχώτατον ἔθνος καὶ ἀθεώτατον, ἀκάθεκτον ταῖς ὁρμαῖς καὶ ἀλόγιστον, τὸ τὰς ἑαυτοῦ πόλεις κατέχειν ἡσυχῇ καὶ δεσπόζειν εὐδαιμονίαν μὴ κρῖνον, ἀλλ'εἰ μὴ καὶ τὰς ἀλλοτρίας προσκτήσαιτο, πᾶν ὁτιοῦν | 124v δεινὸν πάσχειν οἰόμενον, καὶ δυστυχίαν τὸ πρᾶγμα κατονομάζον ἀθλίως μάλα καὶ ἀσεβῶς. Τοὺς ἀλιτηρίους οἶδ' ὅτι Πέρσας ἀκούετε· οἱ δὴ πάνθ'ὅσα ἐπῆλθον καταστρεψάμενοι καὶ λεηλατήσαντες δεινῶς καὶ ἐλεεινῶς καί τινα κώμην κατέδραμον », Odorico 2013 : 136.

Nous savons qu'à Serrès, après la conquête de la ville, il avait installé le métropolite serbe Jakov, dont un portrait subsiste dans le manuscrit de Londres, British Library, Add. 39626, dont un colophon porte la date 1354[20]. Nous pouvons donc imaginer que Théodore ait tenu son discours face au nouveau métropolite et aux nouvelles autorités serbes, en prêchant pour une union entre les forces chrétiennes qui aurait garanti le salut face à la menace ottomane.

Si nous lisons le passage sous ce jour, nous comprenons le sens des mots de Théodore : il affirme que celui qui doit porter la paix à la ville appartient à *la même race*, mais cette race ne doit pas être entendue dans le sens physique, mais spirituel (*je dis cela non tellement pour ce qui concerne les affinités du corps, mais plutôt pour ce qui concerne l'identité et l'union des âmes*). Ce personnage possède une affinité due à *cette parenté*, qui rend même celui qui est *loin par distance physique*, et *comme à l'opposé*, en union étroite et opportune, de manière que même deux peuples différents comme peuvent l'être le Libyen et le Parthe *deviennent de la même race*.

Or, la question de la « race », du « γένος » des Byzantins à cette époque, était une question identitaire très forte en un moment de désarrois[21], lorsque l'Empire s'était réduit comme peau de chagrin et que les attaques des Ottomans et leur politique de conquête faisaient envisager le pire. De facto, l'arrivée de Tamerlan et la bataille d'Ankara en 1402 donna un répit à l'Empire en retardant d'un demi-siècle sa chute, qui paraissait imminente déjà à la moitié du XIV^e^ siècle. C'est justement à cette époque qui s'intensifie la question identitaire et l'éternelle interrogation byzantine « qui sommes-nous ? ». La nécessité de trouver des alliés en condition d'aider l'Empire mourant avait poussé plusieurs intellectuels et hommes politiques à songer à une alliance avec les Occidentaux, qui devait passer par la soumission à la papauté. C'est, parmi tous ces gens, le cas de Démétrius Kydonès, correspondant de Théodore Pédiasimos, qui discute aussi de l'affinité entre les orthodoxes et les catholiques[22].

[20] Walter 1996 : 291–298.

[21] La question de la façon par laquelle les Byzantins se rapportaient aux autres a été très étudiée dans les dernières années. Je citerai seulement quelques livres récents, où on trouvera une très riche bibliographie. E. de Vries-van der Velden 1989 ; Page 2008 ; Necipoğlu 2009 ; Kaldellis 2007 ; Id. 2013a ; Id. 2013b.

[22] Voir Démetrius Kydonès, *Ad Romeos deliberative*, PG 154, col. 972–976. En ce qui concerne le souhait de Théodore Pédiasimos, que la ville soit préservée par des mains apparentées, je ne crois pas que Théodore Pédiasimos songe aux catholiques dans son discours : il s'adresse à ses concitoyens à un moment précédent, lorsque la ville était sous

Pour bien comprendre les sentiments d'appartenance, je me bornerai à citer un passage d'un auteur plus récent, Jean Kanaboutzès, qui vécut à Thessalonique au XV^e^ siècle[23], et qui discute sur la façon de considérer les autres peuples, en faisant un commentaire à propos des Grecs et des Troyens :

> « Εἰ δὲ λέγοι τις, πῶς οἱ Ἕλληνες εἶχον τοὺς Τρῶας ὡς βαρβάρους, ἐπειδὴ μίαν πίστιν εἶχον καὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς θεοὺς προσεκύνουν καὶ ἐσέβοντο, λέγομεν ὅτι τὸ βάρβαρον οὐδὲν νοεῖται περὶ τῆς πίστεως, ἀλλὰ νοεῖται διὰ τὸ γένος καὶ τὴν γλῶτταν καὶ τὴν τάξιν τῆς πολιτείας καὶ τὴν παίδευσιν. Ἡμεῖς γὰρ Χριστιανοὶ ὄντες καὶ μίαν πίστιν ἔχοντες καὶ ἓν βάπτισμα μετὰ πολλῶν ἐθνῶν ὅμως βαρβάρους ἔχομεν καὶ λέγομεν τοὺς Βουλγάρους, τοὺς Βλάχους, τοὺς Ἀλβανίτας, τοὺς Ῥούσους καὶ καθεξῆς τὰ ἄλλα ἔθνη. Οὕτω καὶ οἱ Ἕλληνες μίαν πίστιν ἔχοντες μετὰ τῶν ἐθνῶν ὅμως πάντας ὅσοι ἦσαν ἔξω τοῦ γένους αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς γλώσσης τῆς ἑλληνικῆς ἐκάλουν βαρβάρους ».
>
> « Si quelqu'un demande 'comment ça se fait que les Grecs considéraient les Troyens comme des barbares, étant donné qu'ils vénéraient et s'inclinaient devant les mêmes dieux', nous répondons qu'être barbare n'est pas en rapport avec la religion, mais avec la race, la langue, la façon d'organiser la vie sociale, et la culture. Nous, tout en étant des chrétiens, et tout en ayant une seule foi et un seul baptême en commun avec plusieurs peuples, considérons et appelons barbares les Bulgares, les Valaques, les Albanais, les Russes, et ainsi de suite les autres peuples. De la même manière les Grecs, qui partageaient la même foi avec plusieurs peuples, également appelaient barbares tous ceux qui étaient en dehors de leur race et de la langue grecque ».

La culture, et la langue justement. Ce qui caractérise l'œuvre de Théodore est la qualité de la langue qu'il utilise. Certes, il avait fait de bonnes études à Thessalonique, ville en plein essor intellectuel à l'époque. Mais Théodore va bien au-delà d'une simple démonstration de culture classique : il pousse son style jusqu'à l'utilisation systématique du duel, et à la substitution des noms communs par des expressions tirées des auteurs de l'Antiquité. Bien sûr la pratique était bien présente à Byzance, même si c'est avec une certaine surprise que nous lisons le nom ancien du mois de Maimaktérion, qui correspondait *grosso modo* à octobre-novembre :

contrôle serbe, et il n'a jamais été question d'une aide occidentale pour sauver les villes de l'intérieur de la Macédoine.

[23] Jean Kanaboutzes, Commentaire à Dionyse d'Halicarnasse, éd. Lehnerdt 1890 : 41, p. 35, l. 11–24.

dans ce cas, pris à son jeu, Pédiasimos se trompe, car la Saint-Théodore Stratélatès, à laquelle il fait référence, se célèbre le 8 février. Et puis il y a toutes les allusions à la tradition classique, comme la citation du lieu littéraire que constituait la Fontaine aux Neuf bouches (Ἐννεακρούνου) ou Fontaine Callirhoè. Ses compositions littéraires fourmillent de renvois à l'Antiquité, et il n'hésite nullement à composer un *Panégyrique en l'honneur du soleil*, et un autre *Panégyrique en l'honneur de l'été*. Bref, il n'y a rien d'étonnant ou de nouveau, mais ce cri de grécité ressemble beaucoup à une exigence d'identité culturelle à un moment et dans un espace où cette culture, à laquelle Théodore adhère profondément, risque d'être submergée par les vagues des populations conquérantes devant un pouvoir byzantine légitime impuissant et faible.

Certes, c'est l'époque du classicisme à Byzance, et Thomas Magistros écrit même un dictionnaire des mots et des expressions attiques à utiliser. La question de la reprise de la langue ancienne et de la culture classique à l'époque paléologue est bien connue[24]. Théodore Pédiasimos répond parfaitement aux exigences de son époque : face au déchirement de l'Empire, il est investi d'un rôle social important, celui d'être un intellectuel au service de la communauté dans laquelle il vit. Chargé d'écrire un discours pour une fête publique dans l'église métropolitaine de Serrès, il accomplit sa tâche en étalant toutes ses compétences et son savoir. La langue classique n'est pas seulement à la mode, elle est aussi un élément marqueur pour indiquer son appartenance, une sorte de résistance intellectuelle qui doit faire le contrepoids à la faiblesse politique et militaire. Le message est clair : il faut composer avec les nouveaux seigneurs de la ville, qui sont en condition de la défendre à l'avenir. C'est comme s'il disait « au fonds ils ne sont pas différents de nous, car il y a une parenté spirituelle. Mais la langue et les choix culturels, l'étalage de l'érudition classique, la finesse de l'exposition doivent montrer notre supériorité, nos traits de suprématie ». La langue est chargée d'un rôle sociale et culturel majeur.

Les conclusions auxquelles je parviens sont donc les suivantes :

Le texte est intimement lié à des exigences politiques, et dicté par l'actualité, comme d'habitude à Byzance, où la production littéraire est pratiquement toujours utilitaire et immédiate.

[24] Cf. e.g. : Constantinides 1982 ; Id., 2002 ; Fryde 2000 ; Bianconi 2005b.

L'installation du pouvoir de Dušan dans la région a changé la donne. Membre de l'élite culturelle, Théodore doit composer avec le nouvel *establishment* politique et ecclésiastique.

Le sentiment d'appartenance sur base « ethnique » est fort, et la « race » des Grecs est considérée comme différente de celle des Serbes, mais la force des convictions religieuses communes peut jeter un pont entre deux peuples opposés. En tout état de cause, le recours à la tradition hellénique est le marqueur linguistique qui devient élément de distinction dans l'appartenance communautaire, même si la situation demande la plus grande souplesse.

Dans le marasme de la situation dans les Balkans du Sud, les Grecs essayent se trouver une sortie, en se confiant à un autre peuple capable de leur porter ce salut qui semble compromis dans les luttes pour le pouvoir. Un siècle avant le souhait de confier leur sort au turban plutôt qu'à la mitre, les Byzantins avaient déjà pensé de se remettre aux Serbes pour que leurs villes soient conservées indemnes pour toujours, tout en étant conscients, aussi par le biais de leur culture et de leur tradition linguistique, de leur supériorité.

# Abstracts

Klaas Bentein, Towards a Socio-Historical Analysis of Ancient Greek? Some Problems and Prospects

Recent findings in sociolinguistics have greatly enhanced our understanding of the mechanisms of linguistic variation and change. In this paper, I discuss the possibility of applying a *historical* sociolinguistic approach to a corpus language such as Ancient Greek. In the first part of my paper, I address the question of exactly how to take into account the relationship between language and social context. I review a number of recently made proposals, and their applicability to Ancient Greek. In the second part of my paper, I argue for the benefits of one specific approach, the *Systemic Functional* framework, applying it to particle usage in letters and petitions from Greco-Roman and Late Antique Egypt (I – VIII ad).

Daniele Bianconi, La lettura dei testi antichi fra erudizione e didattica. Qualche esempio d'età Paleologa

For HSL analyses, studies on the social contexts, in which languages are used, are fundamental. This paper's introduction thus briefly describes the concept of *theatron* as a socially distinct place, and provides the readers with an overview of the people and the socio-cultural dynamics, which characterized the *theatra*. With the aim of contributing to the debate concerning the links between education and erudition, the author focuses on a less explored aspect, namely, the teaching of the Aristotelian *Logic* by Maximos Planudes. The author reports on an interesting discovering: a schematized summary of the whole of Aristoteles' *Dialectica*. This important text, a Planudean autograph, is preserved in the Monac. gr. 317, ff. 5–12. The document is considered to be evidence of Planudes' lectures on Aristoteles' *Logic*. In addition, the author comments on the circulation of Plato's works at the school of Maximos Planudes, whose annotations can be noticed on the older manuscripts of Plato, such as the Vat. gr. 1.

Ample space is dedicated to the concept of textbooks that are indispensable instruments for studies on Medieval Greek. In the concluding part of this paper, the author discusses some examples concerning Nike-

phoros Gregoras. These show the difficulties of reconstructing reading practices of scholars of that time. The discussed examples link some passages from Gregoras' *Historia* and *Letters* to some autograph notes by Gregoras himself, preserved in older manuscripts that transmit Greek classics and Hellenistic texts, such as the ms. Oxford, Bodl. Libr. Auct. V.1.51. f. 22r (tenth century).

Andrea Massimo Cuomo, Historical Sociolinguistics – Pragmatics and Semiotics, and the Study of Medieval Greek Literature

This paper focuses on the definition of historical sociolinguistics (HSL), and on the data that make HSL analyses on Medieval Greek possible. It also outlines the two main targets of HSL research on Medieval Greek, namely the description of linguistic phenomena (such as loanwords, and "Atticized" / "Koine" Greek), and textual interpretation. The links between HSL analyses and hermeneutics are also explored: Since the use of language is a communicative strategy, those who aim to interpret Byzantine texts should look at linguistic phenomena from the speech community's perspective.

In addition, the author mentions some important *desiderata* in this field. In order to undertake HSL studies on Medieval Greek, for example, it is necessary to systematically analyze collections of *contemporaneous* Byzantine linguistic and pragmatic descriptions of Medieval Greek, such as medieval textbooks for the teaching of Greek, as well as the context in which these texts were produced; studies on manuscripts and medieval book culture will help us with this task.

Geoffrey Horrocks, Georgios Akropolitis: Theory and Practice in the Language of later Byzantine Historiography

It is a commonplace of Byzantine studies that medieval Greek literature composed in classical genres such as historiography demanded an archaising style based closely on the literary variety of the Attic dialect first developed in the fifth and fourth centuries BC and subsequently 'restored to its former glory' in the period of the Second Sophistic (first and second centuries AD). Work in this high-register variety was always intended for a small, elite readership and it is recognised that this 'artificial' language is, at least superficially, far removed in key respects not only from the current medieval vernacular but even from the more practical written styles employed, for example, in the complementary genre of chronography.

In recent years, however, the perception of learned medieval Greek as a mechanical, repetitive and often poorly executed reincarnation of its more vital ancient counterpart has been questioned in the light of a more sensitive appreciation of the challenges involved in writing in such a style and of the wider historical and sociolinguistic environment in which the relevant authors worked. Accordingly, the balance has now shifted decisively in favour of an alternative view of high-register medieval Greek as a variety that interacted throughout its history not only with the language of hall-marked forerunners through the ages but also, often quite subtly, with the current vernacular. One consequence is that, as the only acceptable medium of creative expression for the designated purposes, it innovated steadily in the hands of its practitioners over time.

This paper aims to contribute to this process of reinterpretation by examining some key aspects of the language of the *History* of Georgios Akropolitis (?1217/1220–82). The central claim will be that, while it was relatively easy to select classically sanctioned lexicon, phraseology, stylistic traits and morphology, it was in fact quite hard, in more abstract and subconscious domains like syntax and semantics, for Greek native speakers to keep the contemporary language at bay – perhaps increasingly so with the passage of time.

Divna Manolova, The Student Becomes the Teacher: Nikephoros Gregoras' Hortatory Letter Concerning Astronomy

The present inquiry examines the change in the intellectual climate of early Palaiologan Byzantium characterised by the prominence of mathematical astronomy and the importance of the successful demonstration of related disciplines. It traces their impact on the late Byzantine discourse concerning knowledge of the natural world as reflected by contemporary historiography, as well as on the related book production and circulation.

In particular, the chapter focuses on Nikephoros Gregoras' (*c.* summer 1293/June 1294–1358/1361) *Roman History*, which lists numerous astronomical events, such as solar and lunar eclipses, the observation of comets and the configuration of the stars at a given moment in time. *Book* VIII, in particular, offers important examples of the incorporation of astronomy-related material into the historiographical narrative as it comprises Gregoras' *Hortatory Letter Concerning Astronomy* and his discourse on the date of Easter. The present contribution features a case study of the *Hortatory Letter* and analyses its insertion in both Gregoras'

*Roman History* and the astronomical miscellany *Vat. gr.* 1087 where it serves as introduction to the entire volume.

Finally, the present chapter proposes that Gregoras' *Hortatory Letter*, in both its contexts of preservation (in *Vat. gr.* 1087 and in the *Roman History*), illustrates the interplay between, firstly, the increased occurrence of significant astronomical phenomena such as the lunar and especially the solar eclipses observable in Constantinople; secondly, the exceptional and rare mathematical expertise Gregoras acquired and demonstrated; thirdly, the change in his social and intellectual status from student of astronomy to one of the very few masters of the quadrivium in the capital; and finally, his newly acquired role as Theodore Metochites' intellectual heir and the one responsible for the preservation of the latter's scholarly legacy, especially in the context of the revival of Ptolemaic astronomy.

Paolo Odorico, Identité et craintes. Théodore Pédiasimos à Serrès au XIVe siècle

In his paper, the author comments on an obscure passage taken from Theodoros Pediasimos' *The Miracles of Saint Theodore*. This work is preserved in the Viennese manuscript *Phil. gr. 219*, ff. 123$^{r}$–129$^{v}$. This ms. contains a collection of texts that belonged to an intellectual of the early Palaeologan era. Thanks to a subscription on f. 101$^{v}$, written by the copyist Ioannes Anagnostès Apostolarios, the ms. can be dated back to 1337. A study on this source reveals that the completion of the ms. took ca. twenty years. The Phil. gr. 219 contains all the survived writings of Theodoros Pediasimos. From his works, some biographic elements can be grasped, such as his erudition, and that Serres was his town.

While the text discussed in this article refers to a particular historical context (Serres after its conquest by the king of the Serbians, Dušan), it is also important evidence of the social role granted to the Greek culture by the learned élites and the people of that time. Overall, this article stresses the synergy between hermeneutics and studies on the context of production and reception of a literary work.

Inmaculada Pérez Martín, Aristides' Panathenaikos as a Byzantine schoolbook: Nikephoros Gregoras' notes on Ms. Escorial Φ.I.18v

After the restoration of Chora by Theodoros Metochites in 1316–21, the library of this Constantinopolitan monastery possessed a considerable number of manuscripts of Aelius Aristides. This is explained by the

interest that Metochites himself had in this orator, the number of whose readers had increased after it became the "bedside book" of the patriarch Gregorios Kyprios († 1289). Indeed, we can link some codices of Aristides to Chora in different ways, some more certain than others.

This paper contributes to the debate on the circulation of Aelios Aristides in Constantinople, among scholars of the early Palaeologan era; in particular in Metochites' and Gregoras' circle in Chora.

The author shows how Gregoras approached Aristides, and gives a thorough example of Gregoras' reading and teaching practices by editing his annotations on Aristides' *Panathenaikos*, preserved in Escorial Φ.I.18. In his reading of the *Panathenaikos*, Gregoras was looking not only for a refined text in Attic prose, but also for information about Ancient Greece. His curiosity about this historical period, which he no doubt saw as part of the past of Byzantium, was satisfied not only by reading ancient historiography but also works by the orators. The political and military history of the Greeks was the inspiration for Gregoras' own *Rhomaïke Historia* as well as for all the thoughts and moral judgements expressed in his vast work. Gregoras did not use the *Panathenaikos* for his own study of the history of ancient Athens. His at times intense, at times partial and trivial notes were designed as an introduction for other people with less knowledge of the *koine,* the history of Athens, and its political virtues. This study suggests that Escorial Φ.I.18. was used as a schoolbook at the monastery of Chora.

An English translation follows the most important notes. Two Appendices, "The *Panathenaikos'* excerpts in Heidelberg. Palat. gr. 129" and "Gregorios Kyprios' marginalia", conclude the article.

Ioannis Telelis, Τεχνικὸς διδάσκαλος: Georgios Pachymeres as a paraphrasist of Aristotelian meteorology

This article attempts to focus attention on tasks that the Byzantine scholar and teacher Georgios Pachymeres (1242–*c.* 1310) implemented when paraphrased Aristotle. Specifically, it explores aspects of the compositional method that the Byzantine polymath applied in his *Aristotelis Meteorologica* commentary, which is the fifth book of *Philosophia*, the *compendium*-like synopsis in paraphrase form of almost the entire *corpus Aristotelicum*. The probable target audience that may be assumed through a sociolinguistic approach of evidence gathered from this philosophical paraphrase, as well as the perception of Aristotle's doctrines by that audience, are both topics touched through the discussion of specific

passages and examples. Furthermore, George Pachymeres' communicative purposes in relation to his probable target audience are approached through the evaluation of specific linguistic and stylistic choices in the context of *Philosophia* book 5 paraphrase.

Stefano Valente, Old and New Lexica in Palaeologan Byzantium

This paper analyses the lexicographic production of the Palaeologan age according to the categories of "conservation" and "renewal" in an attempt to identify the different trends guiding the production of new works and the copy of old lexica throughout this period. Earlier lexicographic works were mainly copied for educational use, as an aid both in understanding classical texts and in learning and improving proper literary diction. In this latter case, the predominant motive was Atticism, i.e. the aim of achieving the "Atticist" sociolect required within the uppermost cultural circles. On the other hand, the scholarly need of refining, updating, and adapting old materials towards new purposes fostered the conception and production of new lexicographic instruments. Elucidating both these aspects requires an understanding of the kind of lexica circulated in the Palaeologan age, of their perception by society and of their resulting uses. To this end, this investigation focuses on the social context of the production as well as the use of different lexica and manuscript copies of them during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

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